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THE
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Mr. JOHN TOLAND,

Now firſt publiſhed from his
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS,

CONTAINING,

I. An Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Druids, with a Critical Eſſay on the ancient *Celtic* Cuſtoms, Literature, &c. To which is added, an Account of ſome curious *Britiſh* Antiquities.
II. An Account of *Jordano Bruno*, and his celebrated Book on the Innumerable Worlds.
III. A Diſquiſition concerning thoſe Writings, which by the Ancients were truly or falſely aſcribed to Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles.
IV. The Secret Hiſtory of the *South-Sea* Scheme.
V. A Plan for a National Bank.
VI. An Eſſay on the Roman Education.
VII. The tragical Death of *Attilius Regulus*, proved to be a Fiction.
VIII. Select Epiſtles from *Pliny*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*.
IX. A diverting Deſcription of *Epſom*, and its Amuſements.
X. Four Memorials to the Earl of *Sh—ft—ry*, relating to Affairs of State in 1713, 1714.
XI. Phyſick without Phyſicians.
XII. Letters on various Subjects.
XIII. *Cicero illuſtratus*.
XIV. *Conjectura de primâ Typographiæ Origine*.

To the whole is prefixed,
A Copious ACCOUNT of Mr. *TOLAND*'s
Life and Writings.

By Mr. *DES MAIZEAUX*.

VOL. II.

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A

LETTER

CONCERNING THE

ROMAN EDUCATION.

WHEN I laſt had the happineſs, Sir, to be in your company, you may remember that we ſpent moſt of the afternoon about antient and modern Learning, which ſtill continues to be a very faſhionable ſubject (1) both in Books and Converſation. Yet, with all juſt regard to the famous advocates of either ſide, the Queſtion, in my opinion, ought not ſo much to have been, *who ſucceeded beſt in the ſeveral faculties,* (tho I wou'd not have this excluded) *as which kind of Learning excells, and is of greateſt uſe to mankind that of the old Greecs and the Romans, or that of the late Schoolmen and the preſent time?* Not that I wou'd make an odious compariſon between us and the Schoolmen, over whom we have got many conſiderable advantages: but, I'm ſure, the further we ſtill proceed to quit their language, and matter, and method, the nearer we muſt needs approach to thoſe of the Greeks and the Romans. Nor can I imagin that any men will ſo far oppoſe matter of fact, or expoſe their own judgment, as to deny that all the perfections of the Moderns beyond the Schoolmen have been revealed to them by the Ghoſts of the Antients, that is, by following their rules, reading their works, imitating their method, and copying their ſtile, which laſt holds as true in proſe as in verſe.

---

(1) *In* 1703.

THIS ought not at all to be wonder'd at, as if the Antients had been a different race or ſpecies of men from us, or that Greece and Italy did formerly breath out more improving exhalations than at preſent, as ſome of the Heathens fancy'd their Oracles were given rather in one place than another by an inſpiring vapor out of that particular ſpot. You may be certain, Sir, that I am diſturb'd with no ſuch fancy: the Antients and we are equal in our race and make, in the ſtructure of our brains and our natural capacities: 'tis government and education that makes all the difference; liberty of ſpeech, and the rewarding of merit. The rules of reaſon and good ſenſe are eternal, the ſame in all ages and countries, and wherever equally cultivated they moſt certainly produce the like effect. But where men are reſtrain'd in their genius, debarr'd all freedom from ſuch and ſuch ſubjects, or branded and incapacitated for being of this or that opinion; there 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be any impartial ſearch after truth, or any real improvement of the underſtanding, any uſeful or new diſcoveries; and conſequently ſuch times and places muſt come infinitely ſhort of others that had an unlimited liberty, and all due encouragement. Can it be expected, for example, that the like extent of knowlege, the like mutual exerciſe of wits, or the like increaſe of diſcoveries ſhould obtain in thoſe countries where one ſort of Philoſophers alone are allow'd, and even thoſe oblig'd to ſpeak the language of their Prieſts, as in other countries where all Philoſophies were publicly taught, and where all Religions were equally tolerated, and no opinion of any kind diſcountenanced, nor any men branded, but thoſe who ſubverted the Government, or deprav'd men's Morals? and therefore it's no wonder why new Rome ſhould come ſo ſhort of the old, or why the preſent Greeks ſhould be Barbarians, whereas their anceſtors held all the world to be ſuch except themſelves. The difference is now as plain between England and Spain; which ſhows that time is not concern'd, and that liberty civil and religious is the cauſe of our knowlege, as their tyranny and inquiſition is that of their ignorance.

As for the ſeveral ſorts of learning, ſome being common to the Antients and the Moderns, and ſome being peculiar to the one and to the other, I'll ſay nothing to you at preſent on ſo copious an argument. But *I was always perſuaded, that, as to the perſons who made a profeſſion of learning, and as to the manner of teaching it to others, the Antients made a much better choice than the Moderns, and ought inconteſtably to have the preference.* Their learned men were not the meaneſt of the people bred to letters, or rather to various cants for a livelyhood; uncommon words and terms being as far from arts and knowlege as pedantry is from learning, or affectation and foppery from civility and good manners: but all the dignities and degrees of the ſacred Prieſthood itſelf, as well as the great poſts in the Law, and all the offices in the State, were poſſeſt by men of diſtinguiſht birth and fortune, and whoſe education was every way ſutable. Among the Moderns, on the contrary, the noble and the rich quit the uſe of Letters as well as of arms to the meaner ſort, thinking their knowlege ſhould be carry'd about by their ſervants like their cloaths, tho' with this difference, that they will not uſe the one as they wear the other; whereby they render themſelves obnoxious to be blindly led by their inferiors in opinions, as they ſhamefully put their poſſeſſions in their power whenever they are tempted to become the maſters. This in our time has made the Arts of peace and war hateful and contemtible, wheras being formerly plac'd in better hands and far nobler purpoſes, they were neither mercenary nor oppreſſive, but exceeding honorable and beneficial. They were not in the firſt place cloiſter'd up from ſociety; nor under the whips and fines, the ſcanty dyet and barren lectures of ſpeculative men, accuſtomed to a retir'd and ſedentary way of living: for ſuch perſons are commonly ſtrangers to the world, which (with the want of practiſing mankind by the advantage of travelling) makes 'em imperious and auſtere, vehemently addicted to diſpute, impatient of contradiction, noiſy and paſſionate in converſation, and, what's worſt of all, more concern'd to prepoſſeſs the underſtandings of their Schollars with thoſe particular doctrines which make for the profit and credit of their own profeſſion, than to fit them for buſineſs, to give 'em gentile accompliſhments, and to advance 'em in the liberal Arts and Sciences. But the Roman youth, after they came out of their nurſes and pedagogue's hands, were plac'd under the inſpection of Companions rather than Maſters, men of univerſal learning, generous breeding, well vers'd in public proceedings and in the common affairs of life, their examples being as inſtructive at leaſt as their precepts. Forein languages they taught their diſciples by converſation, and to be Critics in thoſe as well as in their own by Grammar. You muſt not fancy, Sir, that theſe were like the preſent Governors (as they call 'em) who in great men's houſes are but the next ſort of ſerving men after the Chaplain, and when they travel abroad are only the Stewards of their young Maſter's caſh, and conſequently ſuch ſlovenly pedants as to afford perpetual matter of laughter to their diſciples, being neither capable to introduce theſe nor themſelves to the audience of Princes, to the diverſion of Courts, or into any creditable company.

BUT among the Romans, before the ruin of the Commonwealth, they invited Philoſophers from Greece by ample rewards, or prevail'd on able perſons at home to undertake this province; beſides very reputable conditions, they treated 'em always with the reſpect that became men of learning and knowlege, whoſe behaviour and politeneſs their children were as carefully to imitate as to obey their directions in all parts of their conduct. They did not fill their heads with narrow, pedantic, and uſeleſs notions, nor did they captivate their tender minds to blind authority, or implicitly ſwear 'em to particular opinions; much leſs did they torment their memories with any wretched, unintelligible jargon: but cultivating their reaſon, and leaving their judgments free, they taught them to diſcourſe handſomly in private, to ſpeak eloquently in public, to write perſpicuouſly, elegantly, and correctly; but, above all things, to underſtand the Cuſtoms, Laws, and Religion of their Country. The knowlege of Mankind (a mighty art) they communicated to 'em by comparing antient Hiſtory with the daily obſervations they made on ſtrangers, their own acquaintance, and fellow-citizens. By reading the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of other places, they ſhow'd 'em what in their own was blameable or praiſeworthy, what requir'd to be amended, added, or aboliſht. They inſpir'd them with an ardent paſſion for Liberty, a true love and reſpect for ſtrict Laws, with an equal abhorrence of Tyranny and Anarchy: perſuading 'em to prefer death to ſlavery, and readily to expoſe their lives and eſtates in defence (not of any form indifferently) but of a Government which protected their perſons, preſerv'd their property, encourag'd induſtry, rewarded merit, and left their ſentiments free. Such a government it was that they call'd their Country, and for this they thought it moſt honourable to dy, whether it were fixt in temperate climates and happy fields, or among barren rocks and ſands, under the coldeſt or moſt foggy air. For wherever they enjoy'd liberty, there they thought themſelves at home; and indeed a fondneſs for any ſpot of earth from the mere conſideration of being born there, is not only a falſe notion of our Country, but, in my opinion, as childiſh a prejudice as that of ſome old Men, who order their dead bodies to be carry'd many hundreds of miles to be laid with their deceaſt Progenitors, their Wives, or other Relations.

THE Roman youth were taught manly and martial exerciſes. By public games and prizes, as horſe-raceing, courſeing in chariots, wreſtling, running, fencing, and the like, they were inur'd to bear fatigues, and bred to all heroic Virtues, which are very conſiſtent with the eaſy, affable, and obliging carriage which they learnt at the ſame time, and from the ſame men. This made the Commanders in thoſe days as famous for their learning as their valor, the ſame perſons governing and obeying by turns, without any difference between the Soldier and the States-man, the Orator or the General. To this is owing not only their ſurprizing actions, noble reſolutions, and powerful harangues; but in particular their admirable ſtratagems of warr (proceeding from a perfect knowlege of human nature, acquired by Hiſtory and Philoſophy) and which can never be practis'd by ſuch as had no other education beſides handling a muſquet or trailing a pike, treading perpetually in the common road of their appointed exerciſe, and who are only preferr'd to their poſts with reſpect to their ſeniority, juſt like the Fellows of a College. The favour of a Soverain can make any man a General, but not endow him with the leaſt tincture of theſe arts; nor are they to be learnt in all the breeding of a Courtier. Soft ſoothing ſpeeches will never paſs for orations, no more than cunning little tricks for ſtratagems; and the managing of a ball is as different from the marſhalling of an army, as dancing is from fighting.

FROM want of conſidering the mixt capacity of the great men among the Romans, or rather for not underſtanding their manner of Education, which equally fitted them for the Forum and the Camp; even moſt of the learned of our time look on the Orations they read in their hiſtorians as never ſpoken, which is a great and unpardonable miſtake. A militia of free citizens is no leſs a commonwealth or politic body than the Senat and Aſſemblies they have left at home, and in which the next year they'll take their places, when others have their turn of going into the field. In the Roman armies they voted on many occaſions by their centuries in the camp, as well as about civil affairs in the city; and therefore the uſe of reaſon and perſuaſion was as neceſſary in the one place as the other; not that I affirm theſe Speeches were conſtantly deliver'd in the very words of the hiſtorians (which yet they often were) but only to that purpoſe: for it wou'd be too voluminous to inſert them always at length, when the ſenſe of them can be abridg'd into a narrow compaſs, which we ſee done by the beſt writers of our time in harangues, decrees, proclamations, and other public pieces which we very well know to be genuine. And, that I may ſay no more on this ſubject, the Hiſtorians, who, after this example, had ſtufft their works with falſe Harangues, did not eſcape the cenſure of the Antients, and the like authors little conſider what they do among the Moderns: but in compoſing a Romance ſuch a practice is of a piece with the reſt, and certainly allowable, being then an imitation of nature in a free country, and not in danger of impoſing in any country on the readers.

THE Education of the Romans is likewiſe the reaſon why their youth enter'd ſo early on action, converſing with men from their cradles, and not boys with boys, as among us, till we arrive at manhood, when at length we begin to think of learning the duties of ſociety; but old age does generally overtake us before we can half conn our leſſon. The ſons of the Nobility or Patricians were admitted after a certain age to hear the debates of the Senat, as the beſt and only School, where they cou'd learn how far extended the liberty of the people, and what were the true bounds to the power of the Magiſtrate; how to imitate betimes the beſt maſters in the art of perſuaſion, to obſerve the orders, rules, and methods of proceeding; and to know what behaviour was becoming towards their ſubjects, enemies, auxiliaries, and allies, as well as to form a right notion of all the ſeveral intereſts and parties in the Commonwealth. The ſons of the inferior Gentry and Commons, thoſe of the Equeſtrian and Plebeian Orders, modeſtly ſtood for the ſame ends by the door; and, ſuch was the power of their virtuous Education and Diſcipline, that you ſcarce ever meet with any inſtances of their blabbing again in company what was propos'd or reſolv'd in thoſe auguſt Aſſemblies, but on the contrary, very many commendations of their ſilence and diſcretion, tho, were any of 'em baſely inclin'd, they might flatter themſelves with no diſcovery from the multitude of their companions.

I cannot ſpeak here, Sir, as I wou'd, of the Patrons which the Roman youth propos'd for their imitation amongſt the moſt noted men of the Republic, obſerving all their words and actions, accompanying 'em to the Forum and the Senat, takeing notes from their public ſpeeches or pleadings, attending 'em home to their houſes, and paying to 'em the ſame reverence and gratitude as to their own parents. After the ſame manner they put themſelves Voluntiers under the braveſt Generals, to learn the art of war, not avoiding, but rather chuſing the moſt dangerous expeditions, and they were actually oblig'd to make a certain number of campaigns, before they were capable of any Office whatſoever in the Government; but all theſe particulars require a larger conſideration than is conſiſtent with the bounds of this Letter.

I am, Sir, &c.

DIREC-

DIRECTIONS

For breeding of Children by their Mothers and Nurſes, in two LETTERS, *written above two thouſand years ago.*

Introduction to the Letters.

IN my Letter concerning *the Roman Education* I ſaid nothing relating to Mothers or Nurſes, as not falling naturally within my province. I remember Mr. LOCKE has been cenſur'd more than once by ſome of our Pedants for takeing the Women's buſineſs (forſooth) out of their hands, and for being too converſant in the nurſery. But the impotent declamations of thoſe odd creatures ſhou'd never have deterr'd me, if that true lover of mankind had not exhauſted the ſubject in his moſt uſeful *Treatiſe of Education:* beſides that this part is not ſo arbitrary and ſubject to variation, as what may be reckon'd the genteel or faſhionable Learning of different Countries; the right methods of breeding Children by their Mothers or Nurſes being the ſame (however various the practice) in all times and places. Yet, to gratify for once theſe ſqueamiſh Hyper-Critics, as well as to exhibit in a ſmall compaſs what is deliver'd by Mr. LOCKE in too many words (the grand fault of his book) I ſhall give 'em this very part of Education from the hands they think moſt proper; ſince the following Letters were written by two Ladies, of whom I think it fitting here to give ſome ſhort account.

THEANO was the dearly beloved wife of PYTHAGORAS, who, tho' not the firſt wiſe man, yet the firſt man that ever bore the title of a Philoſopher. She was as learned as fair: and, after her husband's death, manag'd the Pythagoric School, with her ſons TELAUGES and MNESARCHUS. 'Tis no wonder therefore that this Sect ſhou'd be ſo illuſtrious from its very foundation for female Diſciples, which were ſo numerous, that PHILOCHORUS of Athens fill'd a whole volum with 'em: but neverthleſs it rais'd the wonder of Mr. MENAGE, that of all ſects Women ſhou'd be fond of the Pythagoric ſect, which recommended and enjoy'd ſilence ſo much. This piece of raillery is as inſipid, as it is vulgar. THEANO, as I ſaid, was the firſt and moſt celebrated among the Pythagorean Ladies. She was afterwards call'd the Daughter of the Pythagorean Philoſophy, which made ſome other miſtake her for the daughter of PYTHAGORAS himſelf. We have a remarkable inſtance, how far Philoſophy had cur'd her of the Superſtition and vulgar errors of her country, where, among other ſuch ſilly obſervations, people believ'd themſelves polluted by touching dead bodies, and that even man and wife muſt perform certain rites of purification after conjugal careſſes. Now THEANO being askt by ſome body, within what ſpace of time a woman might be counted pure, after the embraces of a man? She anſwer'd, *After her own husband immediately; after another man, never.* This THEANO then wrote the ſecond of the following Letters, and I need ſay little more of MUIA (who wrote the firſt, the ſubject requiring this order) but that ſhe was the worthy offspring of THEANO and PYTHAGORAS. It was queſtionleſs an effect of her education, no leſs than of her natural diſpoſition, that, while a maid, ſhe appear'd in all public aſſemblies at the head of the young Ladies; and that, when a wife, ſhe continu'd at the head of the marry'd Women. She was ſo much admir'd for her prudent management, that her townſmen, the Crotonians, converted her houſe into a temple of CERES; and was ſo remarkable for her elegant learning, that the avenue to this houſe was ſtil'd the MUSÆUM: a glorious example for Ladies to imitate in both reſpects. To be ſhort, theſe Letters are choice monuments of antiquity, and perfect in their kind, both with reſpect to the epiſtolary ſtile, and likewiſe as to accuracy of thought.

LETTER I.

CONTAINING

Directions for the Choice and Conduct of a Nurſe.

MUIA *To* PHYLLIS *Health.*

NOW you are become a Mother of Children, I give you the following advices.

CHUSE a Nurſe every way fit for the purpoſe, but particularly a neat and modeſt Woman, one that is not addicted to Wine or too much Sleep: for ſuch a Woman is agreed by every body, to be the beſt qualifi'd for bringing up Children without any ſervil examples; provided always that her Milk be kindly, and that ſhe wholly refrain from her Husband for the time. For great ſtreſs is to be laid on theſe matters; ſince the choice of a Nurſe, and her manner of tending us, is of moſt evident and eſſential concern in the courſe of our whole lives. A good Nurſe will do every thing that ſhe ought in its due ſeaſon, not giving the breaſt, pap, or any other nouriſhment to the Child at random, and as often as he craves; but with a peculiar diſcretion, for this highly conduces to the infant's health: and if ſhe will not ſuffer him to ſleep whenſoever he pleaſes, but when ſhe judges him to want his natural reſt, this likewiſe will not a little confirm his health. Let not the Nurſe be a paſſionate Woman, nor a ſtammerer in her ſpeech; neither let her be indifferent when or what ſhe eats, but be diſcreet and ſober in her meals. Let her further, if you can poſſibly compaſs it, be a (1) Greec and not a Barbarian. The beſt time to lay the Child to ſleep, is, after he has ſufficiently fill'd himſelf with Milk: for reſt is not only moſt grateful to Children, but the digeſtion of ſuch food is alſo moſt eaſy.

If any thing elſe beſides Milk muſt be given him, let it be of the ſimpleſt ſort. But Wine ought to be wholly deny'd him, as being naturally too ſtrong and hot: or if he muſt have any, let it be very rarely, and ſuch as comes neareſt the conſiſtence of Milk that may be. His body muſt not be too often waſht: for the leſs frequent, and the more carefully prepar'd his baths are, the better. If he be ſent abroad to nurſe, let it be in a temperate air, neither too hot nor too cold; as the ſituation of the houſe muſt not be too bleak, nor too cloſe. Let not the water us'd about him be over-hard or over-ſoft; as his very ſwadling-bands, and what other cloaths he wears, muſt be of a middle ſort between coarſe and fine, yet ever juſtly fitted to his body: for nature does in all theſe things require a certain ſimplicity and economy, but no niceneſs or magnificence.

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(1) This caution, as that about ſtammering a little before, is given to prevent Children (who are continually imitating every thing they ſee or hear) not only from acquiring any vicious habit in their manners, but even in their ſpeech: As *CICERO* likewiſe ſays, that *it is a matter of great concern who they be whom any one hears every day at home, or with whom he muſt converſe from a child; how our Fathers, how our Maſters, and how our very Mothers expreſs themſelves.* In Bruto.

I have thought it not unuſeful to write theſe things to you at preſent, in hopes of a happy nurſery, perform'd as before preſcrib'd: but, God aſſiſting, we ſhall likewiſe in due time give ſuch proper directions as we can for the Education of the Child.

* * *

LETTER II.

CONTAINING

Directions for a Mother how to manage her Children.

THEANO *To* EUBULA *Health.*

I am inform'd that you bring up your Children after a very nice and fond kind of manner. Now, it is the duty of a good Mother, not to cocker up her Children in Pleaſure, but to accuſtom them to Modeſty and Prudence. Take heed therefore, that you play not the part rather of one that flatters, than of one that loves them; for Pleaſure being made, as it were, the foſter-brother of Children, ſuch a companion renders them intemperate and incorrigible. And what is it, pray, that can be afterwards more agreeable to Children, than the Pleaſures to which they are us'd from the beginning? Wherefore care muſt be taken, my friend, that the Education of Children become not their Perverſion: for 'tis a perverſion of nature when their minds are abandon'd to Pleaſure, and their bodies to Voluptuouſneſs; thus avoiding labour in the laſt, and growing ſpiritleſs in the firſt. But Children ought to be timely inur'd to pains-taking and hardſhips, that, when afterwards they muſt in good earneſt ſuffer pains or undergo fatigues, they may not turn the ſlaves of their paſſions (over-rating Pleaſure, and dreading Labour) but that, ſcorning ſuch poor prejudices, they may prefer Honour and Virtue to all things whatſoever, and continue ſtedfaſt in the purſuit of the ſame. By conſequence then, their Feeding is not to be too ſumtuous or plentiful, nor their Pleaſures too many or exquiſite, nor their Paſtimes too frequent or long: neither may they ſpeak whatever comes uppermoſt, nor always be themſelves the chuſers of what they ſhall do.

I am further inform'd that you are terribly frightn'd when your Child cries, and that you are at much pains to coax him again into ſmiles; tho' he ſhou'd even beat his Nurſe, or tell your ſelf that you laugh impertinently: nay, that you make proviſion of cooling things for him in ſummer, and of warming implements in winter, with many other delicacies which poor folk's Children never experience, but are brought up at a much eaſier and cheaper rate; nor are they for all that of a ſlower growth, and for the moſt part they enjoy a much better health. But you, on the contrary, educate your Children as if they were the poſterity of SARDANAPALUS, enervating the natural vigor of Men by effeminate Pleaſures. What think you will become of that Child, who, if he may not eat when he liſts, ſtrait falls a crying; or, if he may eat, muſt have ſweet and reliſhing things? who faints away, if the weather be hot; and ſhivers all over, if it be cold? who, if any body chides him, will contend again? who, if not ſerv'd at command, grows melancholy? and falls into a moroſe humour, if delay'd his meals? who ſhamefully indulges himſelf in lazineſs, and whoſe behaviour is infamouſly ſoft and indolent? Know then for certain, my friend, that ſuch as begin their lives in ſuch diſſolute ſloath, ſeldom fail of becoming other men's ſervants in riper age. Do your endeavour therefore to pluck up thoſe Pleaſures in your Children by the roots, practiſe upon them the hardy and not the delicate method of Breeding, let them learn to bear hunger and thirſt, with heat and cold, and to behave themſelves civilly, not only to their ſuperiors, but alſo to their equals: ſince thus they will acquire a certain ingenuous and manly carriage, both when they are ſeriouſly employ'd in affairs, and when they relax their minds by neceſſary diverſions. For believe me, friend, labours to Children are in the nature of preparatories towards the attaining of perfect Virtue, and which having ſufficiently imbib'd, they afterwards receive the tincture of Virtue itſelf with much greater facility. Take care then, my friend, that, as ill-cultivated vines bear none or bad fruit, ſo the tender rearing of your Children may not produce the miſchief of much vanity and diſgrace.

CONCLUSION.

CERTAIN Critics may think both theſe Letters ſpurious, if they will; as they pronounce all the Grecanic Epiſtles to be ſuch without diſtinction: but in the mean time I defy 'em to prove theſe Letters to be ſo in particular, or (which is our main point at preſent) to write a couple of better or as good Letters upon the ſame ſubjects themſelves. The inſtructions are never the worſe, come they from THEANO and MUIA, or from any Sophiſt or Grammarian that perſonated thoſe excellent Ladies. But indeed the four Letters are evidently ſpurious, which LEO ALLATIUS has publiſh'd under the name of our THEANO, in his *Notes on the Life of* PYTHAGORAS. Beſides their being written in the Attic, whereas theſe are in the Doric dialect (generally affected by the Pythagoreans) PLATO's mention'd in the laſt of 'em, and his dialogue with PARMENIDES, contrary to all Chronology. There were other Women, and ſome not unlearned, call'd by the name of THEANO; ſo that there may be no miſtake in the name, tho' a very groſs one in the perſon.

I muſt not forget to remark, that, according to the noble ſimplicity reigning in the moſt ancient writings, the ſecond perſon is always expreſs'd in our two Letters by *thou* and *thee*: and ſo I ſhou'd have tranſlated, were it not that Cuſtom (the only diſpoſer of Languages) has made *you* to ſignifie in Engliſh the ſecond perſon no leſs in the ſingular than in the plural number, juſt as in Latin *ſe* ſignifies the third perſon in both numbers.

I ſhall here add two Letters which in my opinion are little inferior to the former. One from Melissa to Cleareta, and the other from Theano to Nicostrata, concerning the behaviour of married women.

MELISSA *To* CLEARETA *Health.*

YOU appear to me to abound of your ſelf in all good qualities: for the earneſt deſire you expreſs to hear ſomething concerning the decent behaviour of Women, gives fair hopes that you purpoſe to grow old in a courſe of Virtue. Now, it behoves a prudent and freeborn Woman, who is join'd to one Man according to the laws, to adorn herſelf modeſtly, not magnificently. Let her dreſs be clean, and neat, and convenient; but neither ſplendid nor ſuperfluous: for tranſparent or gorgious attire, and thoſe garments interwoven with purple and gold, are to be rejected, and wholly left to Miſtriſſes, as inſtruments whereby to allure and retain the more cuſtomers. But the ornament of a Woman, whoſe buſineſs is to pleaſe one Man, does not conſiſt in modes but in manners: ſince 'tis the honour of a free-born Woman to ſtudy to pleaſe her own huſband only, and not every one elſe that looks upon her. Inſtead of Paint then, bear a bluſh on your face, as a ſign of modeſty. Prefer probity, and neatneſs, and frugality, before gold and precious ſtones: for a Woman of truly virtuous inclinations muſt not place all her beautifying skill in adjuſting her cloaths, but in the management of her houſe, and in complaiſance towards her husband, the beſt means to procure his favour. Indeed the Will of a husband ſhould be an unwritten law to a good wife, whereby to govern all her actions; as ſhe ought to think that obedience is the faireſt and ampleſt dowry ſhe can bring with her: for more truſt is to be put in the beauties and riches of the mind, than in thoſe of the face or of a fortune; ſince malice or ſickneſs may deſtroy theſe laſt, whereas the firſt continues ſtedfaſt and uſeful till death.

Farewell.

THEANO *To* NICOSTRATA *Health.*

I have heard of your husband's extravagance, that he keeps a Miſtriſs, and that you are jealous of him. But, my friend, I know a great many other men, that labour under the ſame diſtemper: for they are caught (it ſeems) by thoſe women, and held faſt, and depriv'd of their underſtanding. In the mean while you are tormented both night and day, you abandon your ſelf to grief, and are ever contriving ſomething or other againſt him. But do ſo no more, my friend: for the virtues of a wife lies not in watching her husband's actions, but in complaiſance to his will, and this very complaiſance obliges you to bear with his madneſs. He keeps company with a Miſtriſs for his pleaſure, and with a Wife for his convenience: but it is convenient not to mix evils with evils, nor to heap one folly upon another. Some faults there be, my friend, which are irritated the more by reproof, and which paſs'd over in ſilence are the ſooner cur'd, as fire not blown is obſerv'd to go out of itſelf: and therefore if he deſigns to conceal his conduct from your knowledge, but that you are reſolv'd to expoſe by chiding his weakneſs, then he'll tranſgreſs openly, and without ceremony; place not then your friendſhip in the careſſes, but in the merit of your husband; for in this lies the pleaſure of Society. Perſuade your ſelf, that he goes to his miſtreſs inſtigated by luſt, but that he comes to you as a companion for life; that he loves you out of judgment, but her only out of paſſion. But this laſt is of ſhort duration, as being ſoon ſatiated: 'tis ſuddenly begun, and as ſuddenly ended. Thus a man, that is not altogether profligate, will ſpend but little time with a Miſtriſs: for what can be ſillier than that inclination, in gratifying which a man procures his own damage? Moreover, he will at leiſure reflect upon the ſhipwrack he makes of his fortune and of his fame: for no wiſe man will continue voluntarily in any fault to his own hurt. Being therefore call'd upon by the rights he owes you of marriage, and conſidering with regret how his fortunes are impair'd, he'll thorowly know thee at laſt, and, not able to bear the diſgraceful remorſe of his crime, he'll quickly reform. Do not you however, my friend, be provok'd to lead a life anſwerable to that of a Miſtriſs; but diſtinguiſh your ſelf by obedience to your husband, by care about your family, by officiouſneſs to your acquaintance, and by natural affection to your children. Nor ought you even to be jealous of the woman herſelf: for 'tis only commendable to have an emulation with virtuous women. Shew your ſelf (on the contrary) at all times prepar'd for a reconciliation: for, my friend, noble qualities procure us the good will of our very enemies, and eſteem is the effect of probity alone. Being only thus reprov'd by you, he'll grow the more aſham'd, and be the ſooner deſirous of a reconciliation. Nay, he'll love you the more ardently, becoming conſcious of his injuſtice towards you, as well as acknowledging the unblamableneſs of your life, and having receiv'd ſuch a proof of your affection for him: for, as the end of bodily afflictions is pleaſant, ſo the differences of Friends render their reconciliation the more agreeable. Be likewiſe pleas'd to make a parallel of the worſt that may happen every way. When he's ſick, you become ſick too of courſe with grief; if he ſuffers in his reputation, the world will make you likewiſe ſuffer; if he acts againſt his intereſt, your intereſt as join'd to his, cannot eſcape unhurt: from all which you may learn this leſſon, that in puniſhing him you puniſh your ſelf. If, on the other hand, you get a divorce, and marry another man; yet, in caſe he be guilty of the like practices, you muſt ſtill marry another: for widowhood is not tolerable to young women. But you'll live alone, as if you were not join'd to any man; you'll neglect your family, and ruin your husband: and I ſay, that you'll reap for your pains the plague of a miſerable life. But you'll be reveng'd on his Miſtriſs. She'll obſerve and avoid you; or, if it comes to blows, a ſhameleſs woman will be found a ſtout fighter. But 'tis a ſatisfaction to ſcold with one's husband continually: and what will you get by that? for wranglings and contentions do not put an end to irregularity, but proportionably encreaſe the miſunderſtanding. What next then? you'll attempt ſomething againſt his perſon. By no means, my friend, Tragedy teaches us to maſter jealouſy by thoſe ſeveral repreſentations, in which Medea perpetrates her cruelties. But as hands muſt be refrain'd from ſore eyes, ſo do you get rid of this evil by taking no notice of it: for in being patient, you'll the ſooner extinguiſh his paſſion.

THE
FABULOUS DEATH
OF
ATILIUS REGULUS:
OR,

A DISSERTATION *proving the receiv'd Hiſtory of the tragical Death of* MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS *the Roman Conſul, to be a Fable.*

SIR,

THE ſecond time I had the honour to wait upon you at your Lodgings, I found you reading CASAUBON'S POLYBIUS, which occaſion'd us to diſcourſe a while of Hiſtory, and particularly about that of this Author. Among ſeveral important obſervations you were pleas'd to make, I could never afterwards forget the queſtion you propos'd to me about the tragical Death of ATILIUS REGULUS, *Why* (1) POLYBIUS

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(1) *Lib.* 1.

makes no mention thereof, when he is ſo diffuſive in the circumſtances of his defeat and captivity? I was not aſham'd to confeſs then that I had no ſolid anſwer to give; for as, like the reſt of mankind, I come to the knowledge of things ſucceſſively and occaſionally: ſo I had no opportunity before that time to enquire into this matter. Nor, perhaps, without that difficulty, ſhould I have ever underſtood ſo much of it as I perſuade my ſelf now I do. All true judges of Learning are ſenſible, how beneficial good Converſation is to the attaining of it. And I do now experience it, ſince your undeſign'd hints have afforded me matter enough, without any ſtudied digreſſions, for an extemporary and juſt Diſſertation.

A Note of PALMERIUS upon (2) APPIAN directed me to a conſiderable Fragment of the 24th book of DIODORUS SICULUS, which has plainly convinc'd me, that the commonly receiv'd account of the death of ATILIUS is nothing elſe but a female tattle, and a Roman fable. And that you may not call in queſtion the authority of my Fragment, which I do not know if ever you ſaw, I'll give you the hiſtory of it in a few words.

THE Emperor CONSTANTINUS, ſurnamed *Porphyrogennetus*, the ſon of LEO, and grand-ſon of BASILIUS, having, contrary to the common genius of Princes, a more than ordinary inclination to Literature; was at the pains, whilſt yet a minor, to diſpoſe under ſeveral heads, common-place-wiſe, whatever he was moſt deſirous to underſtand: and made large collections out of all the Authors treating of them, that came to his hands. His labours of this kind amounted to no leſs than 106 Volumes, whereof only three are hitherto found and publiſh'd; the firſt by FULVIUS URSINUS, the ſecond by DAVID HOESCHELIUS, both very learned men, and the third (which is ours) purchas'd at a vaſt price in Cyprus by the learned FABRICIUS PEIRESCIUS, and publiſh'd at Paris by the immortal ornament and promoter of Greek Erudition, VALESIUS, in the year 1631.

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(2) *De bello Punico.*

As for the genuineneſs of the Fragment we can't doubt of it; for our Emperor in his Collections is exact even to a nicety. The many paſſages he has out of the extant Works of POLYBIUS, DIODORUS, JOSEPHUS and others, agree generally in terms with the copies we read every day, which leaves us no pretence of queſtioning the reſt, and excludes all other proof as ſuperfluous.

AND for DIODORUS, he is univerſally own'd to be one of the beſt and moſt diſintereſted Writers among the Ancients. He's none of thoſe who only copy or contract a bulky volume or two, nor of ſuch as obtrude precarious relations and conjectural inferences for matter of fact upon poſterity. He's very unlike them who go no farther than their cloſets for materials, and he betrays no where the leaſt partiality or mercenary end. He travell'd over a great part of Europe and Aſia. He ſaw the moſt celebrated places mentioned in his works, and got authentick Memoirs concerning them upon the ſpot. He purpoſely liv'd a conſiderable while at Rome, then the Epitome of the Univerſe, where he could not miſs of all neceſſary helps towards carrying on his great and uſeful deſign. Beſides, he ſpent thirty years complete in making, for the eaſe and benefit of others, this curious Collection out of the moſt valuable Authors; and very fitly entituled it *The hiſtorical Library.* Theſe particulars we learn from his own Preface. PLINY, after due commendations, calls it in the Proem of his natural Hiſtory *The hiſtorical Libraries.* So it is cited in the plural by JUSTIN MARTYR, and EUSEBIUS, who likewiſe (3) ſays *That* DIODORUS *collected into one work the whole hiſtorical Library.* We need not wonder then if this induſtrious Author has preſerv'd ſeveral matters not to be eaſily or in deed at all met with elſewhere; which ſerves but to make us more ſenſible of our loſs in the beſt part of his labours.

(3) *Præparat. Evangelic.* lib. 1.

I ſhould now give you the Fragment with the Obſervations I made upon it. But to render the Diſcourſe more natural and therefore more evident, I ſhall firſt relate the hiſtory of ATILIUS, after which I'll offer my exceptions, then ſhew the reaſons of my diſſent, and laſtly ſubjoin the whole Fragment with the addition of another.

I. After the two potent and emulous Republicks of Rome and Carthage had a long time with various ſucceſs contended for the ſoveraignty of Spain, and the dominion of Scicily, Sardinia, and other Iſles of the Mediterranean; the Romans at length perceiving that their attempts were likely to prove fruſtraneous, without more marine force and experience, (for the Carthaginians were undoubted maſters at ſea) fitted out a great fleet of hatched veſſels ſuch as they never had before, and excellently well mann'd. They ſoon found by their ſucceſs and recovering ſtate, of what advantage good ſhips and ſtout ſeamen were like to be; which made them augment their forces that way more and more, as (4) POLYBIUS copiouſly deſcribes. Thus, fluſh'd with ſome late victories, and much relying upon their naval army, conſiſting of 140000 fighting men, they look'd no longer ſo low as Scicily; but reſolv'd to transfer the war into the enemies own country, ſwallow-ing in their hopes no meaner an acquiſition than Carthage it ſelf. In purſuance of this deſign MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS and LUCIUS MANLIUS made a deſcent into Africa, after having beaten the Carthaginians at ſea who endeavour'd to hinder their landing. The Punick commanders were ASDURUBAL, AMILCAR and BOSTAR, of which two laſt more hereafter. The Romans took in a ſhort time ſeveral ſtrong places, and, MANLIUS with part of the army and the priſoners returning to Italy, ATILIUS was left with the ſole power of proſecuting the war; who, as faſt as he could ſit down before them, took from the Carthaginians (5) 200 towns, waſting the country to the very ſuburbs of their capital city, which made him brag, that he had ſeal'd the gate of Carthage, that none might eſcape. The poor Carthaginians were under a terrible conſternation upon this ſtupendious progreſs of the enemies arms, and would readily conclude a peace upon any reaſonable terms. But the (6) haughty ATILIUS, not knowing how to uſe his good fortune, propos'd ſuch hard conditions as differ'd little from abſolute ſlavery, which put the Africans to deſpair. But happily about this time arriv'd ſome Grecian mercenaries under XANTHIPPUS an expert and couragious Lacedemonian, who by the conſent of the commanders themſelves, to whoſe ill conduct the people attributed the Roman victories, was ſet over all the forces, and ſhortly after totally routed the Romans, and took ATILIUS who became AMILCAR's priſoner. As ſoon as this defeat was known in Rome, they fitted out another fleet under the Conſuls ÆMILIUS and FULVIUS, who at the Hermæan Promontory attack'd that of the Carthaginians and took all their ſhips being 114 with all the men on board 'em, and by conſequence the (7) Generals AMILCAR and BOSTAR. So ASDRUBAL alone was left to manage the war by land. Upon this laſt victory the Carthaginians ſent their Ambaſſadors to Rome to treat of the peace, and ATILIUS their priſoner with 'em, upon oath to return if he could not perſuade the Senate to grant their demands. But he inſtead of this diſſuaded them, and return'd with the Ambaſſadors, prepar'd to ſuffer for the good of his country whatever puniſhment the offended Carthaginians ſhould inflict. (8) CICERO with ſome others affirms that they cut his eyelids, and thruſt him into a dungeon, where they conſtantly kept him awake in a certain machine till he dy'd. Others with (9) APPIAN ſay he was put into a barrel ſtuck every where full of ſharp nails. (10) FLORUS has him crucify'd; and all tortur'd to death. This ſtory has not only been thus tranſmitted to poſterity by moſt of the Hiſtorians that wrote of the Roman affairs, but alſo ſtill continues to be a celebrated example, in moſt authors as well as familiar diſcourſes, of fortitude, and greatneſs of mind.

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(4) Lib. 1.

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(5) *Appian. de bello Punico.*

(6) *See pag.* 18, &c.

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(7) *We hear no further of 'em in this War.*
(8) *Offic. lib.* 3.
(9) *De bello Punico.*
(10) *Lib.* 8.

II. BUT preſerving the higheſt veneration for the memory of this noble General's heroick actions, eſpecially the love he bore to his country, I'll make bold to give a very different account of his end, which, from the reaſons you ſhall hear by and by, I think was after this manner. After he did contrary to the inſtances of all his friends, ſo glorioufly return to Carthage, the Romans having got into their hands AMILCAR and BOSTAR at the Hermæan fight (as aboveſaid) to comfort his wife they committed them (11) with other priſoners of the beſt quality to her cuſtody, to exchange them for her husband, or detain them till he was let at liberty. In the mean time ATILIUS dyes either of ſome infirmity according to the courſe of nature, or more probably being a high ſpirited and proud man, he broke his heart for the ſudden and unuſual diſgrace he fell under. But let this be as it will, I only maintain his death was not violent. ATILIUS's children, you may eaſily imagine, were extreamly troubled at their father's death in captivity and a foreign land. But his wife was in deſpair, refuſing all conſolation. She could not bear the ſight of a Carthaginian, and out of exceſs of anger and grief, attributed the death of her husband to the negligence of his keepers. She therefore commanded her ſons to uſe the captives as ill, which injunction they cruelly executed; as you'll ſee in the Fragment. And tho' AMILCAR did frequently implore this enraged woman's compaſſion, yet relentleſs to all his prayers, and the proteſtations he made of the great care he took of her husband whilſt he was his priſoner; ſhe continu'd to torment him till the matter was diſcover'd to the Senate, who were, for this diſhonour done to the Roman name, highly incens'd againſt the mother and children. But ſhe to excuſe herſelf, and to avoid the imputation of cruelty among her neighbours and acquaintance, told them that fable of her husband's lamentable death, which was quickly ſpread over the town by thoſe women eſpecially who came to comfort her; and who, 'tis likely, made this pretended tragedy the chief theme of their diſcourſe at every goſſipping. Thus it obtain'd credit firſt among the women and vulgar; then it afforded the ſubject of a Tragedy to the Stage, where it receiv'd all the advantage of fiction, that is allowable to Poets or Politicians; and at laſt out of hatred to the Carthaginian name, it was commonly inſerted by Hiſtorians in their relations of that Punick War, and ſo handed down to us.

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(11) *Zonaras.*

III. My reaſons for what I have here aſſerted are,

1. Firſt, POLYBIUS's ſilence: for no Hiſtorian had better opportunities to know thoſe things than he. He was SCIPIO the younger's own tutor, and his companion too in his expeditions. He was particularly preſent at the deſtruction of Carthage by this great perſon; and there is ſuch a connection between this latter and the former Punick Wars, that a man ſo familiar with the General, ſo learned and curious as to write the hiſtory of both, with much ſincerity and no leſs accuracy, could not be ignorant of ſo remarkable a circumſtance, as the fate of ATILIUS muſt needs be, if ſuch a thing there were. Beſides, (12) he aſſures us himſelf, that he has gone over all the particulars of ATILIUS's ſtory, that thoſe who read it may thereby learn to become better men, according to the vulgar ſaying, *Happy is he who learns by the misfortunes of others.* Now, I refer it to the judgment of every unbyaſs'd and thinking perſon, whether if POLYBIUS had this good intention towards mankind, as we have no reaſon to doubt it, he would omit this common account of our Conſul's death, if it had been true? Or whether he can be ſuppos'd to forget what he deſign'd ſo punctually to relate, when in matters of little importance, where

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(12) *Lib.* 1.

his word is no way engag'd, he's ſometimes tediouſly circumſtantial?

2. My ſecond reaſon is the partiality of the firſt Hiſtorians, who treated of that Punick War, to wit, Fabius and Philinus, *who,* ſays (13) Polybius, *related not the truth to us with that ſincerity they ought.* Philinus aſſures his reader that the Carthaginians manag'd all matters with unparallel'd wiſdom, juſtice, and courage, and the Romans quite contrary. But Fabius, as zealous for the credit of his countrey, gives Philinus the lye, and as much extolls the equity, prudence, and valour of the Romans, as he enlarges upon the cruelty, folly, and cowardiſe of the Carthaginians. Polybius having occaſion in another (14) place to correct one of Fabius's voluntary miſtakes about that war, has thoſe fine words, which, one would think, were calculated for our times. *But why have I mention'd* Fabius, ſays he, *and his hiſtory? not that I believe his narrative ſo like the truth as to gain belief from ſome. For what he writes in this place is ſo contrary to reaſon, that tho' I were ſilent, the readers will eaſily perceive the man's inſincerity, which plainly enough diſcovers itſelf. But this I write to admoniſh thoſe, into whoſe hands his hiſtory may come, that they judge not as the*

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(13) *Lib.* 1.
(14) *Lib.* 3.

title of the book promiſes, but according to the nature of the things themſelves. For there are ſome who rather conſider him that ſpeaks than what he ſays; and becauſe they know the author liv'd in thoſe times and was a Roman Senator, they forthwith receive whatever he delivers as moſt deſerving of credit. But for my own part, as I would not have this author's veracity ſlightly call'd in queſtion, ſo neither would I eſtabliſh it in ſuch a manner as to pin the reader's faith upon it; but rather that every one ſhould chuſe thoſe things his judgment inclines him to believe. Thus far our Author.

Now, let this ſame FABIUS, or who elſe you pleaſe, be the firſt writer of this ſtory, the next Roman author that mention'd it did probably copy him, as all the reſt might one another without much enquiring into the original of the thing, which all the quotations in the world can render no truer than the firſt relation. I ſay not this as if I thought 'em always partial or fabulous. I acknowledge they were not ſo barren of truly brave and vertuous inſtances in their citizens to be fond of a fantaſtick Hero. But in matters of this nature which are eſtabliſh'd by popular tradition, wherein religion or the honour of a nation are concern'd, and the belief whereof can have no ill conſequences, 'tis not always ſafe, nor perhaps will it be thought ſo neceſſary to inſiſt too nicely upon truth.

Modern as well as ancient Hiſtories furniſh us with numerous examples to this purpoſe. The brevity I deſign permits me not to improve on my behalf the different accounts, that the authors give us of REGULUS's torments. The laſt of 'em is ſufficient to puniſh the blackeſt crime, and it was impoſſible for one to ſuffer 'em all, being not only too many, but contrary to each other. There is ſomething more than miſtaking a word, or exaggerating Rhetorick in this variety. Vulgar Romance, which is made or embeliſh'd at pleaſure in all ages, and taking things upon truſt, are the ſofteſt expreſſions I can beſtow upon it.

3. MY third reaſon is poſitive, and built upon the Fragment in which I chiefly conſider three paſſages.

1. Firſt, ATILIUS's own wife (as you'll obſerve) has nothing to lay to the charge of her illuſtrious captives the Carthaginian Generals but a bare ſuſpicion that her husband dy'd for want of being well look'd after, or as ſhe expreſſes it, through (15) neglect. And do you think if there had been any thing in the famous Legend, but ſhe would make them bloody reproaches upon this head?

2. Secondly, AMILCAR with tears proteſts that he in particular took all poſſible care of her husband whilſt his priſoner; nor would

(15) Ἀμελεία.

he fail to excuſe others or lay the blame on the ſtate where it ſhould be, if there had been occaſion for it. And tho' he ſees he can by no means mollifie this mercileſs woman, and looks upon himſelf as a loſt man; yet he ſtill calls God to witneſs his innocency, and, that for the thanks his care of their father deſerv'd of ATILIUS's children, complains he's moſt ungratefully repaid with exquiſite torments.

3. Thirdly, the indignation of the Magiſtrates againſt the ATILII upon the diſcovery of their barbarity, and their imputing all the fault to their mother; with the ſpeedy care they took to burn the dead according to cuſtom, and carefully to cheriſh the living. Now, 'tis preſum'd, the Senate would not expreſs this high reſentment if ATILIUS had periſh'd thro' violence or neglect. And had we the reſt of this 24th Book of DIODORUS, we ſhould, queſtionleſs, hear the fact excus'd to the Carthaginians, or, at leaſt, their complaints. But that, I fear, is irrecoverable with the reſt of LIVY, POLYBIUS, TACITUS, APPIAN, MARCELLIN, and many others, (to ſpeak nothing of entire authors) unleſs more of CONSTANTINE's collections be diſcover'd in Greece, where, 'tis probable, they may be all ſtill with much better Books.

THESE (as they clearly appear in the Fragment) ſeem to me reaſons ſufficient to convince all ingenuous perſons, that the tragical ſtory of the Death of REGULUS is partly invented, partly miſtaken, and altogether a fable. I could add ſeveral other cogent arguments from the politicks and manners of the Carthaginians, with their dangerous ſtate at that juncture, to give ſo grievous a provocation to the Romans; but that I look upon more proofs as needleſs, when the matter of fact is already made ſo evident.

IV. Now finally, to illuſtrate the whole, and confirm our Diſſertation, I ſubjoin the verſion of the *Fragment* itſelf, which is as faithful as you could make it elegant.

A Fragment of the 24th Book of DIODORUS SICULUS *in the collection and edition mention'd above.*

" BUT the mother of the (16) young men " bearing heavily the death of her husband, " which ſhe attributed to neglect and careleſſneſs, commanded her ſons to uſe the " captives as ill as they could. Firſt then, " they were ſhut into a ſmall room ſo nar" row that for want of place they were forc'd " to conglobate their bodies, and lye round " as beaſts are wont to do. And then being " deny'd food for five days, BOSTAR out of " anguiſh of ſpirit, and hunger together, ex-

(16) *The Atilii.*

" pir'd. But AMILCAR being endu'd with a " ſingular greatneſs of mind, altho' deſtitute " of all hope, yet kept himſelf up as well as " he could, and did frequently beg compaſſi- " on from the woman with tears, telling her " what great care he had taken of her hus- " band. Yet he was ſo far from inclining " her to any ſenſe of humanity, that the " cruel woman did ſhut up BOSTAR's carcaſs " with him five days longer, affording him " in the mean time food enough to preſerve " life in him, to make him ſenſible of his " calamity and torment. But AMILCAR ſeeing " now all hopes of mercy cut off from his " entreaties calls JUPITER *the protector of* " *ſtrangers*, and all the powers that regard " human affairs to witneſs; loudly exclaim- " ing that for the thanks due to him he was " rewarded with moſt cruel torments. Now " whether by the compaſſion of the Gods, " or ſome good luck that brought him unex- " pected aſſiſtance, he dy'd not by theſe tor- " tures: for when he was in the utmoſt peril " of his life, what by the noiſome ſtench of " BOSTAR's body, and what by the other " ſtreights he was under, ſome of his ſer- " vants coming to know of it told the thing " to certain foreigners. Theſe, highly mov'd " at the indignity of ſuch wickedneſs, ſpee- " dily diſcover'd the whole matter to the " Tribune of the people. And becauſe the " fact appear'd extreamly barbarous, the Ma- " giſtrates ſummon'd the ATILII before them,

" who narrowly eſcap'd capital puniſhment " for having infamouſly branded the Roman " name with this mark of cruelty. More- " over, the Magiſtrates threatn'd them ſe- " verely if they did not hereafter take ſpe- " cial care of the captives. But they laying " all the blame of the matter upon their " mother, burnt the body of BOSTAR and ſent " his aſhes to his country; and, delivering " AMILCAR from his former miſery, they " brought him by degrees to his uſual ſtrength " again.

SIR, you may remember I accus'd ATILIUS of mixing ſome Pride with his many extraordinary Virtues; and diſſuading the Peace at Rome, with his return to Carthage, are ſtill ſufficient to magnifie his name without the addition of a fable. This I did not therefore to leſſen his character, which I deſervedly admire; for there's ſome baſe allay in the fineſt gold: but I have great reaſon to collect ſo much from ſome Authors, and am put out of all doubt by another judicious Fragment of the ſame Book of DIODORUS, and out of the ſame collection, whereof I give you this indifferent Tranſlation.

The ſecond Fragment.

" I hold it the duty of a Hiſtorian (ſays our " Author) diligently to ſet down and mark " the manners and inclinations of the Com-

“ manders on both ſides. For as by blaming “ the ill conduct of any, others may avoid “ committing the like faults; ſo on the other “ hand, the commendation of what is rightly “ perform'd enflames the mind to purſue “ Virtue. Now who would not juſtly re- “ prehend the impudence and arrogance of “ Atilius Regulus, who, not able to bear “ his good fortune, as if it had been ſome hea- “ vy burthen, both depriv'd himſelf of great “ praiſe, and caſt his country into mighty “ dangers? For when he had it in his power, be- “ ſides procuring the glory of much clemency “ and humanity, to conclude a peace very glo- “ rious and advantageous to the Romans, but “ baſe and diſhonourable to the Carthaginians; “ he ſet light by all theſe conſiderations, and “ proudly inſulting over the misfortunes of “ the diſtreſſed, impos'd ſuch hard conditions “ as mov'd the indignation of the Gods, and “ forc'd the vanquiſh'd to act moſt valiantly. “ Thus through the miſcarriages of this one “ man, there happen'd ſuch a ſudden change “ of affairs, that the Carthaginians, who, by “ reaſon of their late defeat, had deſpair'd of “ any ſafety, now having unlook'd for ſup- “ plies, quite routed the enemies forces: and “ the Romans, who, before were reputed to “ excell all the world in land fights, were ſo “ diſcomfited and ſhatter'd as not to dare “ after this to venture a land battle with their “ enemies. Whereupon this war became more “ tedious than any of the precedent, and was "converted into a naval one, in which innumerable ſhips of the Romans and their "allies, and above 100000 men periſh'd over "and above what fell by land. Beſides, it "coſt ſuch vaſt ſums of money as were thought "ſufficient to entertain as great fleets tho' "the war ſhould laſt fifteen years. Now the "Author of theſe evils bore a large ſhare of "them; for he obſcur'd his former glory "with much greater infamy and diſhonour: "and by his infelicity became a warning to "others not to be puft up by ſucceſs. What "is moſt to be noted, having cut off from "himſelf that favour and compaſſion which "is uſually beſtow'd upon the afflicted, he "was forc'd to bear their reproaches and ſubmit to their power, whoſe calamities he inſulted over a little before.

THUS, Sir, without favour or affection, (you may be ſure) I have confuted this old tradition; and remov'd all the cruelty from Africa, where it lay ſo long, into Italy whoſe title to it I find much better. There are many other hiſtories as little queſtion'd as ever this was, which, we are very certain, have not a quarter ſo much ground nor probability to recommend 'em for truth. And yet many in the world place all their learning and ſomething more in the bare belief of ſuch childiſh and old-wives fables. Truly we ſhall not envy them this ſublime knowledge, nor the refin'd ſpeculations it affords them. Nay, with our conſent they may not only value themſelves upon it, but laugh at our ignorance too, like PARSONS the Jeſuit, who pleaſantly, becauſe ſeriouſly, affirms in his anſwer to COOKE, that *one Papiſt of mean learning is more wiſe and knowing than an hundred Hereticks together. For the Heretick,* ſays he, *is only guided by his own ſenſe and reaſon, but the Papiſt follows the learning and wiſdom of his whole Church conſiſting of an infinite number of great men, and ſo makes their learning and wiſdom his own.* I wonder he might not as well conclude, that the pooreſt Papiſt is more learned than a million of Proteſtants, or than all the Popes themſelves, from theſe notable premiſſes. But ſuch is the admirable reaſoning of our implicit-faith-men in every thing! They differ only about their ſubjects whilſt they perfectly agree in their diſquiſitions. But this is ſo evident and you ſo perſpicacious, that I need inſiſt upon it no longer: and therefore ſhall only add that with all imaginable affection, I am,

Sir,

You moſt humble Servant.

OXON, *Aug. the* 6th,
1694.

SOME LETTERS OF PLINY

Tranſlated into Engliſh.

To Mr. * * *

Sir,

I ſend you ſome Letters of Pliny, as a ſpecimen of the Tranſlation I am making of the whole; and deſire your judgment on this Eſſay. I make no doubt but you will agree with me, that for what they call a happy turn, delicacy of expreſſion, and ſpeaking only to the buſineſs in hand, no modern comes near our Pliny, no more than in the variety of his ſubjects, ſuch as intrigues of ſtate, points of literature and hiſtory, queſtions in natural philoſophy, rural pleaſures, the concerns of his friend, and ſome trifles which he renders important. The ſhort Notes I ſhall add at the foot of every page will juſtifie my Tranſlation, which I endeavour to make as conciſe as his Latin, not comparable indeed with that of CICERO, but nothing behind him in ſenſe or matter. I conclude as he does in one of his Letters, that I give you this account, SIR, becauſe our mutual friendſhip requires you ſhou'd not only be made acquainted with all my words and actions, but even with my deſigns. Farewell.

Epſom Sept. 10.
1712.

TO SEPTIMIUS.

Lib. 1. *Ep.* 1.

YOU have frequently exhorted me, that, if I had written any Letters with more accuracy than others, I wou'd collect and publiſh them. I have made ſuch a collection, yet without obſerving any order of time (for I was not writing a hiſtory) but juſt as they happen'd to come each to hand. It now remains, that neither you repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance: which if we do not, will occaſion me to look out for theſe Letters I have thrown aſide as uſeleſs, and not to ſuppreſs thoſe I may write hereafter.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS RUFUS.

Lib. 1. *Ep.* 3.

HOW fares Comum, my delight and yours? that country ſeat ſo exceeding lovely? that gallery, where 'tis always ſpring? that moſt ſhady grove of plane-trees, that canal, ſo green and clear as a diamond? the lake hard by, which ſeems deſign'd for a reſervatory to ſupply it? thoſe firm and yet eaſy walks? that bath which never wants the ſun in his round? thoſe large dining rooms for company, and thoſe leſſer withdrawing rooms for a few friends? how goes it with the drinking rooms? how with thoſe bedchambers for night, and thoſe antichambers for day? Do theſe poſſeſs and ſhare you by turns? or are you hinder'd (as you were wont) with frequent excurſions abroad, by an over-earneſt deſire of encreaſing your eſtate? If theſe poſſeſs you, then are you eaſy and happy: but if they do not, you are only one of many that admire 'em. Why do you not rather (for it is high time) commit thoſe low and ſordid cares to others, and apply your ſelf to books in that quiet and plentiful retreat? let this be your buſineſs and leiſure, your labour and recreation: let ſtudies employ your thoughts by day, and be the ſubject of your dreams by night. Invent and finiſh ſomething, that may be perpetually yours: for the reſt of your poſſeſſions will, after your death, ſucceſſively fall to the ſhare of many owners; but if this once begins, it can never ceaſe to be yours. I know how great a ſoul, and how fine a genius I exhort. Do you only endeavour to have as good an opinion of your ſelf, as others muſt needs entertain of you, if once you are conſcious of your own worth.

Farewell.

TO CORNELIUS TACITUS.

Lib. 1. *Ep.* 6.

YOU'll laugh, and you may laugh as long as you pleaſe. I, that ſame PLINY whom you know ſo well, have caught three wild boars, and extraordinary fine ones. Who, you your ſelf? ſay you. Yes, I my ſelf: but I ſat by the toils, not ſo as entirely to quit my eaſe and quiet; for I had lying by me, not a hunting-pole and a lance, but a pocket-book and a pencil. I meditated ſomething and noted it down, that, if I went home with empty hands, yet I might bring with me full pages. You'll ſee no reaſon to deſpiſe this manner of ſtudying. 'Tis wonderful, how the mind is rouſed by the exerciſe and motion of the body. The woods and the ſolitude all around you, and that very ſilence which is requiſite in hunting, are great enticements to thinking. Whenever therefore you go a hunting hereafter, you may upon my authority carry with you a pocket-book and a pencil, as well as a pouch and a bottle.

You'll find that MINERVA does no leſs wander upon the mountains, than DIANA.

TO MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

Lib. 1. *Ep.* 9.

'TIS a wonderful thing how reaſonably we act or at leaſt ſeem to act, in the city upon particular days; but not ſo every day, nor many days together. For if you ask any one, *what have you been doing to day?* and that he anſwers, *I was to congratulate with a friend for his ſon's arriving to man's eſtate, I was preſent at a contract or a wedding, one call'd me to be a witneſs to his will, another to aſſiſt him in a law-ſuit, another to have my advice in ſome other matter:* theſe things will juſt then ſeem neceſſary offices; but, if conſider'd as done every day, they muſt appear to be pure loſing of time, and you'll be convinc'd of it much more when you retire into the country. For then I call to mind, how many days I have ſpent in moſt trivial affairs; which reflection I eſpecially have, when, in my Laurentin villa, I read any thing, or write, or even take care of my body, the prop and ſupport of the mind. There I hear nothing of which I wou'd chuſe to be ignorant, nor ſpeak any thing I wiſh unſaid again. No body detracts from me at another man's table by malicious diſcourſes, and I find fault with no body but only with my ſelf, when I can't write to my mind. I am perplex'd with no fears, I am not diſquieted with any reports: I ſpeak only with my ſelf and my books. O upright and ſincere life! O ſweet and honourable leiſure! preferable (I had almoſt ſaid) to any buſineſs whatſoever! O ſea! O ſhore! you true and private ſtudying-place! how many things you dictate to me? how many things you occaſion me to invent? Do you therefore, as ſoon as ever you can, leave that noiſe, thoſe vain prattles, with all the pains you are at to ſo little purpoſe, and betake your ſelf to ſtudy or recreation: ſince 'tis better (as our friend ATILIUS has no leſs learnedly than facetiouſly ſaid) for a man to be idle than to be buſy in doing nothing. Farewell.

TO FABIUS JUSTUS.

Lib. I. *Ep.* II.

'TIS a great while ſince you have ſent me any Letters. I have nothing (ſay you) to write. Why then write this very ſame, that you have nothing to write; or at leaſt that with which our fore-fathers us'd to begin, *if you are in health 'tis well, I am likewiſe in health.* This will be enough for me, for 'tis all in all. You'll think I am jeſting, but I deſire it of you very ſeriouſly. Let me know then what you are a doing, of which I cannot be ignorant without the greateſt uneaſineſs. Farewell.

TO AVITUS.

Lib. 2. Ep. 6.

IT wou'd be both tedious, and to little purpoſe, to give you a particular account, how I (that am not wont to be every man's gueſt) ſhou'd happen to ſup with a certain perſon, who in his own opinion is liberal and yet frugal, but to me appears to be at the ſame time both ſordid and prodigal: for he order'd the richeſt diſhes to be ſet before himſelf and a few friends, but the leaſt and the cheapeſt before the reſt of the company. He likewiſe order'd his wine, which was in very ſmall bottles, to be diſtributed into three ſorts; not to give us the liberty of chuſing, but that we might not have the power of refuſing: ſince one ſort was for himſelf and us, another for his lower friends (for he has his friends by tires) and a third for theirs and our gentlemen. He that ſat next me took notice of this management, and ask'd me whether I approv'd it. By no means, ſaid I. Pray then, reply'd he, what method do you follow? Why, I order the ſame things to be ſerv'd to all that are at the table: for I invite people to a meal, but not to a reproach; and I equalize thoſe in all things, whom I admit to my bed or my board. What, your Gentlemen too? Certainly: for then I look upon 'em as my companions, and not as my dependants. O, but this is expenſive. Not at all. How can that be? The reaſon is, becauſe my gentlemen don't drink the ſame wine as I, but I the ſame as they: and truly if you be not very extravagant, 'twill be no great burthen to ſhare with others what you uſe your ſelf. 'Tis Luxury therefore that muſt be moderated, and kept under as it were, if you wou'd ſave charges; which is much better done by your own temperance, than by the diſgrace of others. But to what tends all this? E'en that the boundleſs luxury of ſome people may not, under the notion of frugality, impoſe on ſo hopeful a young Gentleman as your ſelf: and my affection for you requires of me, when any thing of this nature happens, to precaution you by ſuch an example what you ought to avoid. Remember therefore, that nothing is more to be avoided than this new fellowſhip between luxury and ſordidneſs; which, as they are moſt pitiful things disjoin'd and aſunder, ſo they are much more contemptible when united.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 2. *Ep.* 8.

DO you ſtudy? or go a fiſhing? or ride a hunting? or do all theſe together? ſince our Larius gives you an opportunity for 'em all: for this lake affords plenty of fiſh, the woods that ſurround it game, and that moſt profound retreat ſtudy. But whether you follow 'em all or any one thing, I cannot ſay, I envy you: nevertheleſs 'tis a torment to me that I cannot likewiſe enjoy thoſe things, for which I long with as much ardor as feveriſh perſons do for wine, or baths, or fountains. Shall I never be able to break, if I cannot diſſolve, theſe intolerable bonds? I think I never ſhall. For freſh buſineſſes throng on the back of the old, before theſe are quite finiſh'd: and the weight of my affairs is encreas'd upon me every day, like an addition of ſo many cords and chains.

Farewell.

The beginning of PLINY'*s Letter to* GALLUS, *deſcribing his Country Houſe near* Laurentum.

Lib. 2. *Ep.* 17.

YOU admire why the Laurentin (or Laurens, if you'll have it ſo) ſhou'd ſo extreamly delight me. But you'll ceaſe your wonder, when you know the agreeableneſs of this Country Houſe, the conveniencies of the place, and the extent of the ſhore on which it is ſituated. Its diſtance from the city is but ſeventeen miles; ſo that after having done all your buſineſs, you may arrive there before it be late or the ſun is down. You come to it by more ways than one, for the way of Laurentum and that of Oſtia lead hither; but after travelling fourteen miles you quit the Laurentin, and after eleven the Oſtian road. Leaving the one and the other you fall into a way that is ſomewhat ſandy, pretty deep and tedious for carriages, but to people on horſeback eaſy and ſhort. The proſpect is vary'd from place to place, for by the woods you meet, the road is ſometimes ſtraighten'd, and ſometimes again it grows extraordinary large acroſs moſt ſpacious meadows. You meet many flocks of ſheep, with great herds of cows and horſes, which after winter thrive well and grow mighty ſleek by the graſs of the downs, and the kindly warmth of the ſpring. My Villa is large enough for all conveniencies, yet not coſtly to maintain. There is, in the firſt place, an entry which is plain indeed, but not ſlovenly: *&c.*

Here follows the deſcription of the houſe, gardens, encloſures, &c.

The concluſion of the ſame Letter.

ARE you now convinc'd that for good reaſons I cultivate, inhabit, and love this retirement? which, you muſt needs be too much addicted to the city, unleſs you deſire to ſee; and I wiſh you may deſire it, that to ſo great and many ornaments of our little houſe may be added the higheſt commendation from the honour of your company.

Farewell.

TO

TO CALVISIUS.

Lib. 3. *Ep.* 1.

I don't remember that ever I paſt my time more pleaſantly, than when I was lately with SPURINNA: inſomuch, I aſſure you, that, if it be my lot to grow an old man, there's none, whom in old age I wou'd ſooner imitate: for nothing is more methodical than that kind of life, and I am as much delighted with the orderly life of men, of old men eſpecially, as with the conſtant courſe of the ſtars. Indeed, hurry and confuſion are not wholly unbecoming young men, but all things ſtill and regular are expected of the old, in whom pains taking is of the lateſt, and ambition is ſcandalous. The rule I am going to tell you, is moſt conſtantly obſerv'd by SPURINNA, and theſe little things (little, if they were not daily practis'd) are reduc'd by him into a certain order and rotation as it were. In the morning he ſits for ſome time on his couch, at ſix a-clock he calls for his ſhoes, he walks three miles, and exerciſes his mind no leſs than his body. If he has any friends with him, they are entertain'd with excellent diſcourſes, but if not, ſome book is read; and this ſometimes when he has the company of his friends, provided they don't diſlike it. Then he ſits down a while, and ſo comes the book again, or a diſcourſe that excells any book. Soon after he mounts his chariot, and takes in his wife of exemplary virtue, or ſome of his friends, as very lately my ſelf. O how amiable, how ſweet is that privacy! How much of antiquity will you learn there! Of what actions, of what men will you hear! What precepts will you be taught! tho' he preſcribes this temperament to his own modeſty, as never to ſeem to dictate. After he has thus rode ſeven miles, he walks another mile, and ſits down again, or betakes him to his cloſet and his pen: for he writes, and that in both languages, Lyrics eſpecially with a great deal of art. They are wonderful ſoft, wonderful ſweet, wonderful facetious: and their graces are augmented by the probity of the writer. When he's warn'd of the hour for the bagnio (which in winter is eleven a-clock, and one in ſummer) if it be not windy weather, he walks naked in the ſun. Then he plays long and vehemently at tennis, for by this kind of exerciſe, he likewiſe makes war upon old age. After he has waſh'd he ſits down to table, but does not eat immediately: and in the mean time hears ſomething read with a diſtinct and ſoft voice. His friends may all this while freely do the ſame things, or whatever elſe they like better. At laſt comes in ſupper, no leſs neat than frugal, ſerv'd up in old and upright plate. He likewiſe uſes Corinthian ware, with which he's pleas'd but not betwitch'd. The intervals of ſupper are frequently fill'd up by the performances of Comedians, that pleaſure itſelf may be ſeaſon'd with wit. Even in ſummer this takes up a good part of the night, but is tireſome to no body, the entertainment being continu'd with a world of agreeableneſs. Hence it is, that now after his ſeven and ſeventieth year, he has the perfect uſe of his eyes and ears; hence it is, that his body is brisk and active, and that he has nothing of old age but experience. For this kind of life I pray, and act it already in my thoughts; being reſolv'd to begin it chearfully in good earneſt, as ſoon as my years may warrant me to ſing a retreat. In the mean time I am fatigu'd with a thouſand labours, of which the ſame SPURINNA is both my comfort and example: for he likewiſe, as long as it was diſhonourable to do otherwiſe, perform'd the uſual duties, fill'd diverſe magiſtracies, govern'd provinces, and earn'd his preſent leiſure by a great deal of pains. I therefore preſcribe to my ſelf the ſelf-ſame courſe and the ſelf-ſame end; and give you an aſſurance of this even now under my hand, that if you perceive me to go longer on in buſineſs, you may plead this very letter of mine as a law againſt me, and command me to be quiet, as ſoon as I can avoid the imputation of lazineſs.

Farewell.

TO CATILIUS.

Lib. 3. *Ep.* 12.

I Shall come to ſupper to you: but I bargain now before hand, that it be ſhort, that it be frugal, that it abound only in Socratic diſcourſes, and that even of theſe there be no exceſs. There are likewiſe certain duties belonging to the night, wherein CATO himſelf cou'd not be found imploy'd without blame, whom yet CAIUS CÆSAR ſo reproaches as to commend him: for he repreſents certain, who met him bluſhing, when upon uncovering his head, they diſcover'd he was drunk; and then adds he, *you would think that* CATO *had ſurpris'd them, and not they* CATO. Could more authority be attributed to CATO, than that even drunk he appear'd ſo venerable? But let the time of our ſupper be limited, as well as the preparation and the expence: for we are not thoſe, whom our very enemies cannot cenſure without praiſing us at the ſame time.

Farewell.

TO LICINIUS.

Lib. 4. *Ep.* 30.

I Have brought you, as a preſent out of my country, a queſtion very worthy of your profound erudition. A ſpring riſes in a hill, it runs thro' rocks, is receiv'd in a baſin made by hands, and, interrupted there a while, it falls into the Larian lake. The nature of this Fountain is admirable. It increaſes and decreaſes thrice a day at certain floods and ebbs. This is plainly ſeen, and the experiment is try'd with extraordinary delight. You ſeat your ſelf near it and eat there; nay, and drink too out of the fountain, for 'tis extream cold. In the mean while it does at certain and proportionable ſpaces of time fall or ſwell. You lay your ring, or any thing elſe, on the dry ſand, the water comes towards it by degrees, and covers it; at laſt the ring begins to appear again, and is by little and little quite left by the water. If you ſtay long enough, you may obſerve the ſame thing a ſecond and a third time. May there be any hidden breath, that ſometimes opens the mouth and jaws of the fountain, and ſometimes cloſes them again, according as by inſpiration it ruſhes in, or by expiration 'tis forc'd out? as we ſee to happen in bottles, and in other veſſels of that ſort, which have not an open and ready paſſage: for they likewiſe, tho' inclin'd and held downwards, do by certain delays of the obſtructing air (expreſt in frequent gulpes) ſtop what's to be pour'd out of them. Or is the fountain of the ſame nature with the ocean? and by whatever cauſe this laſt is driven to the ſhores and ſwallow'd back again, ſo this ſmall water is ſunk or rais'd. Or as rivers, running into the ſea, are by contrary winds and tides forc'd back towards their ſource, ſo is there any thing that at certain times may drive back the ſtream of this fountain? Or are the latent veins of ſuch a certain capacity, that while they are collecting the quantity they loſt, the ſtream grows leſs and ſlower, but quicker and greater when the veins are full again? Or is there, I know not what occult and imperceptible libration, which when it is light, raiſes and forces the ſpring; and when it is depreſt, ſtops and choaks it? Do you ſearch the cauſes of ſo great a wonder, for you are able: 'tis enough for me, if I have clearly enough expreſt the matter of fact. Farewell.

The Beginning of PLINY'S *Letter to* APOLLINARIS, *deſcribing his* Tuſcan Villa.

Lib. 5. Ep. 6.

I Was pleas'd with your care and uneaſineſs, when, having underſtood that I deſign'd to go this ſummer to my Tuſcan Country Houſe, you perſuaded me not to do it, as thinking the place unwholſome. Indeed, the coaſt of Tuſcany along the ſhore is foggy and infectious, but this place is far diſtant from the ſea, and ſtands juſt at the foot of the Apennin, which is the healthieſt of mountains. And that you may be rid of all fear on my behalf, take this account concerning the temperature of the climate, the ſituation of the country, and the agreeableneſs of the Villa, which muſt needs be very pleaſing for you to hear, and me to relate. The air in winter is cold and ſharp, neither will it bear or produce myrtles, olives, or ſuch other plants as thrive by a perpetual warmth : but it agrees with bay-trees, and ſometimes produces very green ones, but none decay oftener than they do about the city. The ſummer is wonderfully temperate; and the air is always in ſome kind of agitation, but which occaſions breezes more frequently than winds. This is the ſeaſon that you meet with many old people, and that the youth ſee their grandfathers and great grandfathers. You may hear the old ſtories and diſcourſes of our anceſtors, and, when you come hither you'll think your ſelf born in the former age. The proſpect of this country is extraordinary fine. Imagin to your ſelf a certain vaſt amphitheater, and ſuch as nature alone is able to form : then a large and ſpacious plain incompaſt with hills, and the tops of thoſe hills cover'd with lofty groves and antient trees, which ſupply continual hunting, and of diverſe ſorts. The ſides of the hills are ſtock'd with coppice woods, among which are mellow and clayiſh hillocks (for you can ſcarce find a ſtone, tho' you purpoſely look

for

I not able to decide, whether it be more difficult to take any thing or to write.

Farewell.

TO MAURICUS.

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 14.

YOU preſs me to come to your Formian Villa; and I ſhall go, on condition that you put yourſelf to no ſort of inconvenience, which is making the like bargain for my ſelf, againſt your coming to me: for 'tis neither the ſea nor the ſhore, but you, and eaſe, and liberty, that I would enjoy. Otherwiſe it were more elegible to ſtay in the city. We muſt do every thing according to our own or other folks humour: and this on my word is the nature of my ſtomach, that it can bear nothing but what's plain and unmix'd.

Farewell.

TO NEPOS.

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 19.

DO you know that the price of lands is riſen, eſpecially, near this city? The cauſe of this ſurprizing riſe, which is the ſubject of much diſcourſe, did at the laſt meeting of the Senate, occaſion ſeveral moſt excellent ſpeeches, importing, That *the candidates at elections ſhould neither treat,* *nor make preſents, nor lay out any money.* The two firſt of theſe abuſes were not leſs exceſſively than openly practis'd; and the third, notwithſtanding the care us'd to conceal it, was a thing taken for granted. Now our friend HOMULUS, having diligently improv'd this unanimous agreement of the Senate, mov'd for a reſolution, that the Conſuls ſhould be order'd to acquaint the Prince with the deſires of them all, and to pray him, that according to his uſual vigilance, he would correct this, as he had other diſorders. The Emperor aſſented, for he put a ſtop to thoſe baſe and infamous expences of the candidates, by a law againſt canvaſſing, and oblig'd them to qualify themſelves by laying out on land, a third part of their eſtates; eſteeming it a very ſhameful thing, as indeed it was, that ſuch as are deſirous of this honour, ſhould live in Rome and Italy, not as their country, but as a lodging, or like travellers in an inn. The candidates hereupon, outbid one another every where, and buy up whatever they are inform'd is to be ſold; inſomuch, that many now part with their lands, who did not think of doing it before. If you are weary therefore of your farms in Italy, this is certainly your time of putting them off to advantage, as well as of buying in the provinces, while the candidates are ſelling there to purchaſe here.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 6. Ep. 24.

WHAT a world of difference there is, by whom any thing is perform'd: for the ſame actions are either extoll'd too high, or preſt down too low, by the fame or the obſcurity of the authors of them. I was ſailing upon our Larian lake here, when an old friend of mine ſhew'd me a villa on the ſhore, and the very room hanging over the water. Out of that place (ſays he) did a woman of our borough precipitate herſelf together with her husband. I inquir'd the cauſe. Her husband (continues he) ſtunk with certain ulcers, which from a long diſeaſe he had contracted about the privy parts of his body. His wife, than whom none cou'd better judge of that matter, beg'd him to let her inſpect the part affected to ſee if curable; ſhe ſaw, ſhe deſpair'd, ſhe exhorted him to dye; and became herſelf the companion of his death, nay, and was the guide, the example, and the neceſſary cauſe of it: for ſhe bound herſelf with her husband, and ſo tumbl'd into the lake. I, that am of the ſame town, never heard of this fact till very lately: not becauſe it is leſs than the moſt famous deed of Arria, but becauſe the woman herſelf is leſs.

Farewell.

TO FEROX.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 13.

THE ſame letter informs me, that you ſtudy, and that you do not ſtudy. I ſpeak riddles — Yes for certain, till I tell you more diſtinctly what I mean. For it denies that you ſtudy, yet is ſo polite, that none but one who ſtudies cou'd write it; or elſe happy are you above all mortals if amidſt ſloth and idleneſs you can finiſh ſuch pieces.

Farewell.

TO FALCO.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 22.

WHEN you know who and what my friend is, you'll wonder the leſs, that I ſo earneſtly preſt you to confer upon him the Tribuneſhip. But now, after you have promis'd me, I am at liberty to tell you his name, and to give you his character. 'Tis CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS, who, whether you regard his rank or his accompliſhments, is the ornament of my country. Being nobly born, he abounds in riches, but loves books as if he were born poor. He is a moſt upright judge, a moſt indefatigable advocate, and a moſt faithful friend. When you are better acquainted with the man, who is equal to all honours, to all for one) which in fruitfulneſs are not inferior to any fields on the plains, and yield a plentiful crop, later indeed, but not leſs full or ripe. Below theſe the whole declivity is cover'd with vineyards, which give the ſame uniform proſpect on every ſide; and ſhrubs grow in abundance about the extremities, like a ſort of fringe. Next come fields and meadows. The fields are ſuch as can be only broken by huge oxen and ſtrong plows, this moſt ſtiff earth turning up into ſuch vaſt clods as require nine breakings before they are tam'd. The meadows are beſpangl'd and enamel'd with flowers, producing clover and other herbs, which are ſoft and tender as if they were always young: for they are all water'd with never-drying ſtreams. Nevertheleſs, where the greateſt quantity of water is to be found, there is no marſh; becauſe, being ſteep land, whatever moiſture it cannot ſoak, glides down into the Tyber. This river, which is navigable, runs thro' the middle of the country, and carries all our productions to the city, tho' only in winter and the ſpring: for it grows low in ſummer, and leaves in its dry bed, the name of a great river, which it reaſſumes in autumn. You'll be greatly charm'd if you behold the ſituation of this country from the top of the hill: for you'll not imagin to ſee land, but ſome piece that is painted with the moſt exquiſite delicacy. With this variety, with this diſpoſition, the eyes are refreſh'd wherever they turn.

My Villa which ſtands towards the foot of the hill enjoys as fair a proſpect as if it were on the top: it riſes ſo eaſily and by ſuch ſlow degrees, that you find yourſelf got up without perceiving that you mounted. The Apennin is behind, but a good way off. In the moſt ſtill and faireſt days there come breezes from thence; yet neither piercing nor impetuous, but ſpent and out of breath by the diſtance itſelf. The greateſt part of the houſe looks towards the ſouth, *&c.*

A Court, Shade, and Wilderneſs, in the ſame Deſcription and Letter.

Before this lovely front of the houſe, there is anſwerable to the whole extent of it a very ſpacious Court, wherein horſes are to be manag'd, and may even run races in a circular courſe. It is open in the middle, which at one view wholly diſcovers it to thoſe that are coming into it. It is planted round with plane-trees, and theſe are ſo cover'd with ivy, that their lower parts are green with its leaves, as the tops are with their own. The ivy creeps up from the trunks to the branches, and by paſſing over from one tree to another, links 'em all together. The diſtances between them are fill'd up with box, and they are lin'd quite along behind with a hedge of bay, which joins its ſhade to that of the plane-trees. This court extending in a right line, is terminated in a ſemicircle, and changes its landſchape, being at the end ſurrounded and cover'd with cypreſs, occaſioning there a cloſer, more dark and gloomy ſhade; tho' the open round ſpots of this wilderneſs (which are very many) receive the cleareſt light, which makes roſes thrive here, and ſo the coolneſs of the ſhade is temper'd with the grateful warmth of the ſun. All theſe numerous and various windings are at laſt reduc'd to a ſtraight line, and not in this plot alone, for there are ſeveral others ſeparated by allies, on either ſide beſet with box or roſemary. Here you have green parterres, and there compartments of box, which are cut into a thouſand figures, ſometimes into letters denoting the name of the owner, and ſometimes that of the gardiner. Among theſe there mount by turns pyramids of yew and the ſhapes of trees loaden with fruit. But in ſo regular a piece of art there ſtill appears a ſtudy'd negligence, with a ſort of imitation of nature and the country, the middle ſpace being adorn'd with dwarf plane-trees; beſides which, there is ſtore of ſoft and creeping acanthus, then ſeveral more figures, and a greater number of names.

TO ANTONINUS.

Lib. 5. *Ep.* 10.

THERE's nothing makes me more ſenſible how good your Verſes are, than when I ſtrive to make the like: for as painters can never reach the perfection of a fair and faultleſs face; ſo I lagg, and fall ſhort of your original. I therefore ſo much the rather exhort you to produce a great many more, which all may paſſionately endeavour, but none, or very few, be able to imitate.

Farewell.

TO MACRUS.

Lib. 5. *Ep.* 18.

TIS well with me, becauſe 'tis well with you. You have your wife with you, and you have your ſon. You receive delight from the ſea, from the ſprings, from the green trees, from the fields, and from a moſt pleaſant country-houſe: for indeed I cannot doubt, but that houſe is moſt pleaſant, which was the retirement of that man, who was more, before he was made moſt happy. Here in Tuſcany, I both hunt and ſtudy, which I do ſometimes by turns, and ſometimes both together: yet to this hour am place, do afford both bathing and lodging for your money. Nor are there wanting country ſeats, which following the pleaſantneſs of the river, ſtand on the brink of it. In a word, there's nothing that will not afford you ſome delight: for you'll ſtudy likewiſe, and read various things by various perſons, written on every pillar, on all the walls, to celebrate this Fountain and its God. Moſt of 'em you'll commend, but ſome you'll deſpiſe; tho' ſo great is your humanity, that you'll laugh at nothing.

Farewell.

TO URSUS.

Lib. 8. *Ep.* 9.

'TIS a great while ſince I have taken a book, ſince I have taken a pen into my hand. 'Tis a great while ſince I knew what is eaſe, what repoſe, what that ſlothful indeed but delightful thing, to do nothing, to be nothing: ſo much am I render'd incapable, either to retire or to ſtudy by the many affairs of my friends! For no ſtudies are ſo valuable, as to make us abandon the duty we owe our friends, and which thoſe very ſtudies command us moſt religiouſly to obſerve.

Farewell.

TO MAXIMUS.

Lib. 8. *Ep.* 19.

IN Letters conſiſt both my joy and my comfort: for there's nothing ſo joyful which by theſe is not made more joyful, nor any thing ſo ſad, which by theſe is not made leſs ſad. Having therefore been out of order by the ſickneſs of my wife, the danger of many in my family, and even the death of ſome; I have my refuge to books, as the only eaſers of my grief, they teaching me to underſtand adverſity better, and to bear it more patiently. Now you know it is my way to examine by the judgment of my friends, and particularly by yours, whatever I am about to publiſh to the world. Do you therefore, if ever, be attentive in correcting the Book you'll receive by this letter; becauſe I fear, leſt by occaſion of my ſadneſs, I have not been attentive enough my ſelf. I cou'd indeed ſo far maſter my grief as to be able to write; but yet not ſo far as to do it with an eaſy and chearful mind; for as ſatisfaction from ſtudies, ſo ſtudies proceed from mirth.

Farewell.

TO GALLUS.

Lib. 8. *Ep.* 20.

THE ſame things, to know which we begin long journies, and croſs the ſeas, we neglect nearer hand and under our eyes: whether it be that nature has ſo fram'd us, as to be incurious of what's at home, and covetous of what's remote; or that the deſire of every thing grows ſo much the fainter, as the means of obtaining them become eaſier; or, finally, that we put off to another time our deſign of ſeeing, what's in our power to ſee as often as we pleaſe. Whatever be the cauſe, there are very many things in our own city, and about it, which we never ſaw with our eyes, nor ever heard with our ears; yet were the ſame in Greece, in Egypt, in Aſia, or in any other land fruitful of wonders, and valuing it ſelf upon them, we ſhould have heard, and read, and ſeen them e'er now. Thus I have lately both heard and ſeen my ſelf, what before I neither heard nor ſaw. My grandfather in law requeſted of me, that I would take a turn to viſit his farms near Ameria. As I was walking over theſe, they ſhew'd me a Lake at the foot of a hill, going by the name of Vadimon, and told me certain incredible things of it at the ſame time. I went ſtrait to it. The lake is as round as a wheel lying on the ground, equal on all ſides, no creek, no bay; but every thing proportioned, even, and as if they had been hollowed and ſcoopt out by the hand of an artiſt. The colour of the water is lighter than blue, and deeper than green; the ſmell of it is ſulphureous, the taſte medicinal, and the virtue of it is to conſolidate fractures. It occupies but a ſmall ſpace, yet large enough to feel the force of the winds, and to have its ſurges ſwell'd by the ſame. There is no boat upon it (for it is ſacred) but certain graſſy Iſlands all floating in it, all defended with reeds and ruſhes, and ſuch other things as grow in fertile marſhes, or at the extremities of this very lake. Each of theſe iſlands has its proper figure and motion. The margins of all are bare, becauſe that being frequently ſtruck againſt the ſhore, or one another, they reciprocally wear and are worn. They are all equally high, and equally light; for their roots fall ſlanting into the water, after the manner of a keel. This figure may be obſerved on all ſides, they being ſunk and ſuſpended in the ſame water. Sometimes they are join'd and coupl'd together, and reſemble the continent: at other times they are ſeparated by oppoſite guſts of wind; and not ſeldom floating ſingly, when the water's in a gentle motion. The ſmaller often lye by the ſides of the greater, as lighters do by ſhips; and the greater and the leſs are often in ſuch a motion, as if they ſtrove together, all titles (for I'll ſay no more of the modeſteſt perſon in the world) you'll be perſuaded 'tis you yourſelf that have receiv'd the obligation.

Farewell.

TO RUFUS.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 25.

O How much does the modeſty of learned men, or their love of quiet leſſen or obſcure their fame! But we, when about to ſpeak any thing in publick or to rehearſe, fear only thoſe who have made their ſtudies known: whereas they who hold their tongue perform thus much farther, in that they admire a noble work by their very ſilence. What I write, I write from experience, TERENTIUS JUNIOR, having moſt honourably acquitted himſelf in the horſe ſervice, and in the adminſtration of the Province of Narbon, retir'd to his own eſtate in the country, and preferr'd a moſt profound tranquillity to the employments that were ready to be heap'd on him. Having invited me to his houſe, I conſider'd him as an underſtanding head of a family, or as a diligent farmer, being ready to diſcourſe him on thoſe ſubjects, wherein I thought him moſt converſant; and I begun ſo to do, when he by a moſt learned ſpeech recall'd me to my ſtudies. How accurate every thing! How excellent his Latin! How pure his Greek! For he's ſo much maſter of both, that you wou'd always think he excell'd in that language he's actually ſpeaking. How much has he read? How much does he remember? You would ſwear the man liv'd at Athens, and not in a country ſeat. But what need of more words? He has encreas'd my ſollicitude, and makes me ſtand no leſs in fear of thoſe retir'd men, who may be reckon'd a ſort of farmers, than of thoſe whom I know to be the moſt learned. I adviſe you to the ſame caution: for as in camps, ſo in letters, you'll find, if you carefully enquire after them, a great many under a ruſtic habit, who are arm'd at all points, and begirt with a moſt piercing wit.

Farewell.

TO MAXIMUS.

Lib. 7. Ep. 26.

I Was lately convinc'd by the indiſpoſition of a friend, that we are beſt when we are ſick: for what ſick perſon is diſturb'd with avarice or luſt? He purſues no amours, he covets no honours, he neglects riches, and, let him leave but ever ſo little behind him, he has enough. Then he believes there are Gods, and remembers himſelf to be a man. He envies no body, he admires no body, he deſpiſes no body, neither is he curious to hear or is pleas'd even with ſcandal. His thoughts are wholly ſet on baths and fountains.

tains. The top of his cares, the top of his wiſhes is, that, after eſcaping his diſtemper, he may become ſleek and plump: which is to ſay, that he reſolves to lead an innocent and happy life for the future. What the Philoſophers therefore endeavour to teach in many words, nay in many volumes, I can thus briefly preſcribe to you and myſelf; that when we are well, we continue to be ſuch, as we profeſs our ſelves reſolv'd to be, when we are ſick.

Farewell.

TO ROMANUS.

Lib. 8. *Ep.* 8.

HAVE you at any time ſeen the well of CLITUMNUS? If you have not yet (and I believe not, ſince otherwiſe you had told me of it) ſee it now, as I have done of late, tho' it repents me I was too backward. There riſes a gentle hill, ſhaded with a grove of antient cypreſs-trees. At the bottom of this hill breaks out the Fountain, iſſuing by ſeveral ſprings, ſome greater and ſome leſs, and bubling up makes a baſon, which ſpreading wide appears ſo clear and tranſparent, that you may count the chips that are thrown in, and the pebbles that ſhine at the bottom. From thence the water is protruded not by any declivity of the place, but by its own quantity and weight. This fountain moreover

over (that immediately becomes a large river capable of boats, which coming upwards, it forces down again and keeps back) is ſo impetuous, that tho' it runs on plain ground, it bears along, without the help of oars, whatever is to follow its courſe. But you can difficultly get againſt its ſtream with all the help of oars and poles to boot. Both effects are pleaſant enough to thoſe who are on the water for play and paſtime, exchanging labour for eaſe, or eaſe for labour, juſt as they change their courſe. The banks are cover'd with abundance of aſh and poplar-trees, which the pellucid river, as if they were drown'd therein, adds by reflection to the number of the green ones above. The coldneſs of the water may compare with ſnow, nor is it inferior in colour. Hard by is an antient Temple, held in great veneration. CLITUMNUS himſelf ſtands clad in a Pretexta. The lots there ſhow him to be a preſent and a prophetical Deity. Several chappels are ſcatter'd around it, and as many images of the God. Each has its peculiar devotion, with its peculiar name, and ſome likewiſe their peculiar wells: for beſides the greateſt, which is as it were the father of the reſt, there are others leſs, divided in their ſources, but united in the river, which is paſſable by a bridge. This bridge is the bounds of what's ſacred and what's profane. 'Tis lawful above it only to ſail, but below it, people may alſo ſwim. The Hiſpellates, on whom AUGUSTUS beſtow'd this place, or ran a race. Being driven back again into the ſame place from whence they ſet out, they enlarge the ground; and ſometimes on this ſide, and ſometimes on that, they leſſen or increaſe the lake, and then only leave the compaſs of it entire when they keep in the middle. 'Tis well known, that cattle following the graſs, are wont to get upon thoſe iſlands, miſtaking them for the utmoſt bank, without perceiving the ground to be moveable till they are ſeparated from the ſhore, and then grow afraid of the water all around them, as if they were ſhip'd and tranſported; but ſoon getting out, as the wind happens to drive them, they no more perceive, when they come aſhore, than when they went aboard. The ſame lake diſcharges it ſelf into a river, which, after being viſible a little while to the eye, is ſwallowed into a cave, and runs deep under ground, and whatever's received by it before this deſcent, it preſerves and brings out again at the other iſſue. I have written theſe things to you, as ſuppoſing them not leſs unknown nor leſs agreable to you, than they were to my ſelf; for nothing more delights you as well as me, than the works of nature.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 8. *Ep.* 22.

HAVE you not obſerv'd ſuch, as being ſlaves to all manner of luſts, are yet ſo angry with the vices of others, as if they envy'd them; and moſt grievouſly puniſh ſuch as they moſt diligently imitate: when nothing is more becoming even thoſe than lenity, who ſtand in need of no body's clemency. And indeed I look upon that man as the beſt and moſt faultleſs, who pardons others as if he always err'd; but yet ſo abſtains from errors, as if he wou'd never pardon. Let us therefore hold this as a maxim both at home and abroad, as well as in every condition of life, that we be implacable towards ourſelves; but eaſily reconcil'd, even to thoſe who cannot forgive any but themſelves: and let us fix in our memory what THRASEA the mildeſt, and for this very reaſon, the greateſt of men, was frequently wont to ſay, *who hates vices, hates men.* You'll be curious perhaps to know, what mov'd me to write this. A certain perſon of late—But we'll diſcourſe of this more to the purpoſe when we meet; tho' now that I think better of it, not then neither: for I am afraid, leſt telling that which I blame others for practiſing, cenſuring, reporting, ſhould be repugnant to the virtue I ſo earneſtly inculcate. Who therefore, or whatſoever he be, let him be forgot in ſilence: ſince to make him remarkable, might ſhew ſome example; but not to make him ſo, ſhews much more humanity.

Farewell.

TO AUGURINUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 8.

IF now I begin to praiſe you after being prais'd by you, I am afraid leſt I ſhould be thought not ſo much to ſpeak my own judgment, as to return you thanks. But tho' I ſhould be thought ſo to do, I eſteem all your writings nevertheleſs to be very fine, and thoſe to be the fineſt that treat of us. This proceeds from one and the ſame cauſe: for you write beſt when you write of your friends, and I read as beſt of all what concerns myſelf.

Farewell.

TO TACITUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 14.

YOU neither applaud yourſelf, nor do I write more out of reſpect, than as the ſubject itſelf requires. Whether poſterity will have any regard for us, I know not, but certainly we deſerve it ſhould have ſome: I will not ſay for our wit (ſince that were arrogant) but for our ſtudy, diligence, and even our deſire to pleaſe poſterity. Let us only perſiſt in the courſe we have begun, for tho' it has advanc'd but few to glory and fame, yet it has deliver'd a great many from forgetfulneſs and ſilence.

TO LATERANUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 27.

I Have often before, but eſpecially of late, perceiv'd how great is the power, how great the dignity, how great the majeſty, nay, how great is the divinity of Hiſtory. A certain perſon was publickly rehearſing a book full of truth, and reſerved part of it for another day. Hereupon the friends of ſomebody came begging and praying him, not to proceed with his rehearſal: ſo much aſham'd are they of hearing what they did, who had no ſhame in doing what they bluſh to hear. The author however granted their requeſt, for he had not given his word to read the reſt. But the book, like the deed itſelf, does ſtill remain, as it will for the future, and be read in all ages, ſo much the more becauſe not ſtraight publiſh'd: for men grow impatient to diſcover thoſe things, that are kept back from their knowledge.

Farewell.

TO

TO RUSTICUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 29.

AS it is more eligible to do any one thing in perfection, than many things indifferently; ſo it is to do many things indifferently, if you cannot do any one in perfection. This conſideration has induc'd me to make a tryal of my abilities in various kinds of ſtudies, having not confidence enough to confine myſelf to any in particular: and therefore when you read this or that thing of mine, you'll ſo pardon every one, as not being the only one. Shall the number of pieces be an excuſe in the other arts, and the condition of ſtudies continue more ſevere, where it is more difficult to ſucceed? But what do I talk of pardon, as if I were on the ſudden grown ungrateful? For if you receive theſe laſt performances with the ſame courteſy that you did thoſe I ſent before, I may rather expect praiſe than pardon; tho' I for my part am well content with the latter.

Farewell.

TO GEMINUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 30.

YOU do very often in perſon, as now by letter, praiſe your friend NONIUS to me, for being liberal to ſome people: and I likewiſe praiſe him, provided it be not to them only. For I will have him, that is truly liberal, give to his country, to his kindred, to his wive's relations, to his friends, but I mean to his poor friends; not as they, who chiefly preſent thoſe, that are moſt able to preſent again. I look upon ſuch not to give away their own, but by their gifts (cover'd over with hooks and birdlime) to catch the goods of others. They are much of the ſame diſpoſition, who take away from one what they give to another, and ſo court the fame of liberality by avarice. But the firſt thing to be done towards this, is to be content with one's own; as the next is, to become a ſort of confederate by turns with him, who maintains and cheriſhes ſuch as you know are truly in want. All which if NONIUS does, he's without doubt to be commended; if only any one of 'em, he's leſs indeed, but ſtill to be commended: ſo rare a thing is even an example of imperfect liberality! All men are ſeiz'd with ſuch a vehement deſire of having, that they may ſeem rather to be poſſeſt than to poſſeſs. Farewell.

TO TITIANUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 32.

WHAT are you doing? What are you about to do? I lead a moſt pleaſant, that is, a moſt idle life. For this reaſon I would willingly read, but not write, long letters; the one as being idle, the other as being indolent: for nothing's more ſlothful than your indolent, or more curious than your idle folks.

Farewell.

TO CANINIUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 33.

I Have happen'd upon a true ſubject, but very like a fiction, and worthy of that moſt luxuriant, moſt profound, and truly poetical genius of yours. You muſt underſtand that I happen'd upon it, as ſitting at ſupper one and another were relating diverſe wonderfull things. Great is the ſincerity of the relator: tho' I may ask, what is ſincerity to a Poet? Yet the relator is ſuch as you would not ſcruple to credit, were you even writing a hiſtory. In Africa is the colony of Hippo, near the ſea, and nearer to the town is a navigable lake, out of which there runs a gut like a river, which, as the tide happens to ebb or flow, is by turns carry'd off to the ſea or reſtor'd back to the lake. Thoſe of all years are buſy'd in this place, as they delight in fiſhing, or ſailing, or ſwimming: but eſpecially the boys, who are allur'd hither by play or idleneſs. To ſwim in the deepeſt water is among theſe matter of glory and courage;

rage; and he's victor who leaves fartheſt behind him both the ſhore and his fellow ſwimmers. In this contention a certain boy, bolder than the reſt, ſwom far beyond them; a Dolphin meets him, now gets before him, now follows him, next wheels round him, laſtly gets under him, ſlides him off, comes under him again, and carries him all trembling firſt towards the ſea, then preſently turns towards the ſhore, and reſtores him to the land and to his companions. The fame of this thing ſpreads thro' the colony: all run together, and look upon the boy himſelf as a miracle; they ask him queſtions, they hear him anſwer, they report all again. Next day they flock to the ſhore, they look towards the ſea, or any thing that's like the ſea. The boys fall to ſwimming, he among the reſt, but with more caution. The dolphin comes again at his uſual time, and approaches the boy. He flies with the others. The dolphin, as if he were inviting and calling him back, frisks above water, dives again, and dexterouſly performs diverſe wheelings and turnings. The like he did the ſecond day, and the third, and ſeveral other days, till the ſhame of fearing ſeiz'd upon thoſe men bred to the ſea: they come near him therefore, they play to him, and they call upon him; at laſt they likewiſe touch him, and handle him, he tamely ſuffering it all the while. This experiment encreaſes their boldneſs. The boy eſpecially, who made the firſt tryal, ſwims towards the dolphin as he was ſwimming, he leaps upon his back, is carry'd and return'd, believes himſelf to be known and belov'd by him, and loves the creature on his part, neither of them fearing nor being fear'd. The boldneſs of the one and the tameneſs of the other encreaſes, while the other boys ſwim on the right and the left, encouraging and directing them. There accompany'd him (which is likewiſe a wonder) another dolphin, as if he were a ſpectator and comrade: for he neither did nor ſuffer'd any thing like the other; but came and departed with him, as the boys did with the other boy. It looks incredible (yet is as true as the reſt) that this dolphin, the play-fellow and carrier of the boys, us'd to be drawn upon the ſhore, and, growing dry upon the ſands in the heat of the day, to be rowl'd back again into the ſea. 'Tis alſo well known, that OCTAVIUS AVITUS, the Legate of the Proconſul, did, out of ſuperſtition, as he was thus lying on the ſhore, pour a certain ointment upon him, frightn'd by the novelty and ſmell of which he fled into the deep; nor was he ſeen till after many days he appear'd languid and ſorrowful, yet ſoon recovering his ſtrength, he repeated his former tricks and ſervices. The magiſtrates flock'd from all quarters to behold the ſight, by whoſe coming and ſtay this ſmall republick was burthen'd with new expences: and laſt of all the place itſelf loſt its former quiet and privacy. They agreed therefore to make away ſecretly with the cauſe of this confluence. With what compaſſion, with what exuberance will you bewail, adorn, and elevate theſe particulars! tho' you are under no neceſſity of feigning or adding, ſince it will be ſufficient if the things that are true be no way diminiſh'd. Farewell.

TO SATURNINUS.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 38.

I Muſt commend our friend Rufus, not becauſe you intreated me ſo to do, but becauſe he moſt highly deſerves it; for I have read over his Book, perfect in all reſpects; tho' the love I bear him made it ſo much the more agreeable. I judg'd however as I read: for they are not the only Critics who read to find fault.

Farewell.

A NEW
DESCRIPTION
OF
EPSOM,
WITH THE
HUMOURS and POLITICKS
of the Place:

IN A LETTER TO
EUDOXA.

Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter & ſitus agri:
Continui montes, niſi diſſocientur opacâ
Valle; ſed ut veniens dextrum latus adſpiciat ſol,
Lævum diſcedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Hor. Epiſt. 16. lib. 1.

MADAM,

SINCE the place in which I paſs the ſummer was thought fit, on a certain occaſion you remember, to be compared with my miſtreſs, who makes it ſummer wherever ſhe is; you deſire, that as I ſhew'd you the picture of the one, I would likewiſe ſend you a deſcription of the other, and as like the original as may be. The right you have to every thing that is mine, makes this requeſt a command; and therefore without any further difficulty or apology (ceremonies inconſiſtent with rural ſimplicity) be pleas'd to receive it as taken from the life at one ſitting. But the performance is not ſo eaſy, eſpecially in the manner, as is the promiſe of a thing. I am not ignorant, that you think correctneſs and elegance of ſtile as neceſſary to ſet off the plaineſt truth, as neatneſs of dreſs and politeneſs of manners are to recommend the moſt beautiful woman: a ſlatternly negligence, or a tawdry affectation, being no leſs diſguſting in the one than in the other. Yet as there are ſeveral ſorts of beauties, each having their peculiar charms, it is juſt ſo with writing. You know (without being one of thoſe they call Virtuoſo-Ladies) that there's the low and the ſublime, the epiſtolary, the hiſtorical, the oratorial ſtile, with many other ſuch differences. And in this Letter I fancy you'll eaſily agree, the ſtile ought to be a little luxuriant, like the ſubject it ſelf. Nay you have enjoin'd me as a task, to be rather turgid than ſimple in a piece of ſerious amuſement, where, you ſay, I ought to ſhew my ſelf more a Poet than a Hiſtorian, yet ſtill keeping cloſe to the truth of the latter. Beſides, that even unerring nature puts on her gayeſt apparel in

May, and teaches us her children, by the example of the trees, of the plants, of the birds, and of every object that preſents it ſelf to our ſenſes, to delight in the ſame innocent variety; particularly in proſpects, landſchapes, and the deſcriptions of extraordinary places, ſuch as I am now going to do my ſelf the honour of ſending you.

EPSOM (1), a village in the county of Surry, much frequented for its moſt healthy Air and excellent mineral Waters, is diſtant about fourteen Italian miles from London-bridge, and twelve from Fox-hall. It is deliciouſly ſituated in a warm even bottom, antiently call'd Flower-dale, between the fineſt Downs in the world on one ſide (taking their name from the village of Banſted ſeated on their very ridge) and certain clay-hills on the other ſide, which are variouſly checquer'd with woods and groves of oak, aſh, elm, and beech, with both the poplars, the intoxicating yew, and the florid white-beam. The wyche-tree, the withy, the horn-beam, the bird-feeding quicken-tree, and the correcting birch, are not wanting. I need not mention the numberleſs copſes of hazel, thorn, holly, maple, and other trees and ſhrubs of dwarfiſh growth, that agreeably diverſify all this country: nor that, for the moſt part, they are amorouſly claſpt in the twining embraces of ivy and honey-ſuckles. The Downs, being cover'd with graſs finer than Perſian carpets, and perfum'd with wild thyme and juniper, run thirty miles in length, tho' under different appellations, from Croydon to Farnham: and for ſheep-walks, riding, hunting, raceing, ſhooting, with games of moſt ſorts for exerciſe of the body or recreation of the mind, and a perpetual chain of villages within a mile of each other beneath, they are no where elſe to be parallel'd. The form of this our village, as ſeen from thence, is exactly ſemicircular; beginning with a Church, and ending with a Palace: or, leſt our ſtile here ſhou'd offend you, MADAM, it has a Palace for its head, and a Church for its tail. Mr. WHISTLER's far-conſpicuous grove makes, as it were, a beautiful knot in the middle: as the road from thence to Wood-cote-green, may be call'd Midway-ſtreet. EPSOM never miſſes of the eaſtern or weſtern Sun, and is about a mile in length; the area, within the bending of the bow or half-moon, being a ſpacious plain of corn-fields, ſown with every grain, and opening full to the downs. To theſe ever-green mountains of chalk you may out of every houſe inſenſibly aſcend, without as much as a hedge to obſtruct the air or the paſſage. Indeed the riſings are many times ſo eaſy, that you find your ſelf got to the top, without perceiving that you were mounting. From the circumference of the ſemicircle there branch out two or three pleaſant lanes, being the extremities of the roads which lead to the town, from the ſlow declivities of the neighbouring hills. Theſe are prefer'd to the principal ſtreet by ſuch as are lovers of ſilence and retirement; and are known by the names of Clay-hill, New-inn-lane, and Woodcote-green, in which laſt place your humble ſervant has his hermitage. There are other alleys and outlets of meaner note. Among them I don't reckon the avenue leading up the hill to Durdans, the Palace I juſt now mention'd; nor yet Hudſon's-lane, which I remember for the ſake of Epſom-court, that antient Saxon (2) ſeat (long ſince converted into a farm) the mother and original of our ſubject. Now, all theſe by-places are ſo ſeparated from each other by fields, meadows, hedge-rows, plantations, orchards and the like, that they ſeem to be ſo many diſtinct little villages, uniting into one conſiderable town at the large ſtreet, in the middle of which ſtands the watch-houſe. As I wiſh to ſee this laſt a more ſtately edifice; ſo I long to have the whole ſpace about it, from the new-Parade down to the Spread-eagle, neatly pitch'd: conſidering that flint-ſtones are ſo near, ſo plentiful, and ſo cheap.

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(1) The old Saxon name of this place was EBBESHEIM, which is to ſay *Ebba's home* or Palace, ſo called from EBBA, a Queen of this country: as afterwards EBBISHAM and EB'S-HAM, the corrupt pronunciation of this laſt word occaſioning the preſent name of EPSOM. Surrey, and Suſſex, with part of Hampſhire, made up the Kingdom of the South Saxons, founded by the valiant ELLA, next after that of Kent, and continued in his poſterity to ETHELWOLF, the firſt Chriſtian King, whoſe Queen was EBBA, of whom THOMAS RUDBORNE, who wrote in the time of HENRY III. thus ſpeaks in his *Manuſcript Chronicle* in the COTTON Library (Nero A. 17.) *Regina vero nomine Ebbe in ſua, id eſt Wiccianorum provincia, fuerat baptizata. Erat autem* GUSTRIDI *filia, fratris* RUHERI, *qui ambo cum ſuo populo Chriſtiani fuerunt.* Guilford was the ſummer reſidence of the South Saxon Kings.

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(2) In old writings its likewiſe call'd Ebbyſham-place; now only a great name, and nothing more to be ſeen, but an oblong ſquare area rais'd higher than the other ground, on the ſouth-eaſt of the houſe. Abundance of wrought ſtone, of Roman bricks and tiles are often dug up about the farm: and ſome of the fields do yet preſerve the name of a Park.

Several perſons, who have choſen this ſweet place of EPSOM for their conſtant abode, are diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt by their habitations, as they are either by their birth or fortunes. As Sir JOHN WARD's houſe on Clay-hill, Sir EDWARD NORTHEY's on Woodcote-green, and Mr. ROOTH's in New-inn-lane, whoſe canal on the top of a hill, with the ſoft walks on both ſides, and the green mounts at each end, are very delightful. But among ſeveral other ſuch houſes, I ſhall make particular mention only of two. The firſt of theſe is Durdans, twice already mention'd; tho' the place is ſo well known, that I need not ſay any thing to ſet off the grove, or the houſe, or the ſituation. But it were to be wiſhed, that the right honourable the Lord GUILFORD, owner, would on the eminence (which bounds his noble avenue from the downs) erect a ſtone Pillar inſcrib'd TO HEALTH AND LIBERTY, as the air is the moſt pure in that place, and unconfin'd, that can be. This pillar, after the manner of the antients, will alſo ſerve for a point of view according to the modern way: and will be no leſs beneficial to the town, nor leſs obliging to the company that frequent it, than ornamental to Durdans. Round the baſis ſhould be a ſeat of the ſame ſtone for the Ladies, who own they have for ſome time left off their laudable old cuſtom of walking on the downs: not out of lazineſs or love to gaming, as they are ſcandalouſly aſpers'd; but, as they themſelves more truly affirm, from the want of a reſting place on this charming ſpot, by them call'd Mount Amoret. Nor ſeems indeed this ſpot to be of common earth, but rather magic ground; for the perſons who have not walk'd three evenings and three mornings (at the leaſt) upon Mount Amoret, muſt not promiſe themſelves any good from the air of Epſom: neither husbands, if they are maids; nor, if batchelors, wives. The ſame is as true of the mount in Aſhted Park, yet with this difference; that if there you take your rounds either on horſeback, or in a coach, then both the virtue of the place, and the merit of all your actions, will prove without any effect. The gladiator, in the middle of it, kindly warns you of the danger. Not the high-tufted trees nor the ſhort-bitten lawns, not the gloomy coverts nor the lightſome glades, not the open proſpects of APOLLO, nor the retired walks of DIANA can avail you any thing, if you ſurvey 'em not all on foot.

The other houſe in Epſom that requires a ſpecial mention, is Mount Diſton, ſo nam'd from the owner, and from the round hillock near adjoining, which, riſing gently on all ſides in a conic figure, terminates on the ſummet in a circle, which is a hundred foot diameter, and divided into four equal quarters. The round and croſs walks of this circle are turf'd, and thoſe triangular quarters planted with trees; which, after they are grown to their full height, will make a ſtately landmark over all this country. But tho' nothing ſeems more pleaſing to the eye, than the near proſpect of the town, or the diſtant proſpect quite around, yet you mount ſtill higher nine and twenty ſteps into an arbour or pavilion, on the top of an oak, that grows in the very edge of the circle, and whence your view is every way proportionably enlarg'd. Up to this circle there comes a double walk, divided by a range of trees from the beſt garden, yet of very eaſy aſcent, three hundred and fifty five foot, which I call the north walk: and at the other end, there comes up to it likewiſe from the reſervatory the ſouth walk, three hundred and ſeventy foot; in both which the ſlopes ſeem wonderfully natural, yet artfully contrived. At the foot of the mount is a croſs walk, from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, two hundred and ten foot, open at each end thro' handſom grills; and from the court before the houſe there goes a walk from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, five hundred and fifty five foot, including the breadth of the court. Behind the houſe is a magnificent double Terraſs, the middle of each being gravel, and turf on the ſides, (which may be adorn'd with ever-green dwarfs) three hundred foot long; and the ſemi-circular ſlope, with proper ſquares, in the middle of this terraſs, is eighty foot broad: to which you aſcend out of the garden ten ſteps, being five ſteps to each terraſs, and then ten ſteps more from the upper terraſs into the houſe; all theſe ſteps, as well as thoſe in the fore-court, being of excellent Portland ſtone. From the terraſs, which I have ſaid is three hundred foot long, there is continued in a ſtraight line over the ſide of the mount, directly towards the downs, a walk finely turf'd, as are all the reſt (except one private ſand walk, and one gravel-walk) ſix hundred and fifty foot. And it muſt be acknowledg'd that Mr. ACKRES, in laying out this hill, wherein nature was the chief guide that he followed, has done juſtice to his art: nor is it to be doubted, but his genius will ſtill appear with greater advantage in the garden as ſoon as he goes about it; there being not a more beautiful or convenient piece of ground for ſuch a uſe any where. Let others judge as they pleaſe of the houſe and the conveniences about it, I ſhall confine my ſelf to the peculiar objects of my own delight, which will add not a little to the pleaſures of this place.

But remembring, MADAM, that I am to deſcribe a village, and not a ſingle houſe, I muſt needs ſay, that even the Houſes of the very townſmen are every where mighty neat, built moſt of 'em after the neweſt manner, and extremely convenient, being purpoſely contrived for the entertainment of ſtrangers, and therefore beautify'd by the owners to the utmoſt of their ability, to which the ruins of Nonſuch-palace have not a little contributed. The fronts are adorn'd throughout with rows of elm or lime-trees, in many places artificially wreathed into verdant Porticos, cut into variety of figures, and cloſe enough wrought to defend thoſe, who ſit under ſuch hoſpitable ſhades, from the injuries of the ſun and the rain. Here ſometimes breakfaſt and ſupper are taken, as at other times a chearful glaſs and a pipe: for theſe vegetable canopies, in the very heat of the day, yield a grateful and refreſhing coolneſs, by the fanning breezes they collect from the delicate air of the downs. The fineſt of 'em all is that which ſhades the pav'd terraſs in the centre of the town, extended quite along before the chief tavern and coffee-houſe. By the converſation of thoſe, who walk there, you wou'd fancy your ſelf to be this minute on the Exchange, and the next minute at St. James's; one while in an Eaſt-India factory or a Weſt-India plantation, and another while with the army in Flanders or on board the fleet in the ocean. Nor is there any profeſſion, trade, or calling, that you can miſs of here, either for your inſtruction or for your diverſion. Fronting this our Forum (as I may well call it) there is another of theſe ſhades, lately wrought over a pav'd walk of conſiderable length, which I juſt now call'd the New Parade. Behind the houſes are handſom tho' not large Gardens, generally furniſh'd with pretty walks, and planted with variety of ſallads and fruit-trees; which in ſeveral of 'em are all left free for the Lodgers. Such as neglect their gardens, find their error in the emptineſs of their rooms, as I wiſh they ever may. Thus when you are on the top of the downs, 'tis one of the lovelieſt proſpects imaginable, to view in the (3) vale below ſuch an agreeable mixture of trees and buildings, that a ſtranger is at a loſs to know (as it has been obſerv'd of my beloved city Leyden in Holland) whether it be a town in a wood, or a wood in a town.

One thing is wanting, and happy is the ſituation that wants no more! For in this place, (notwithſtanding the medicinal Waters, and ſufficient of ſweeter for domeſtic uſe) are not to be heard the precipitant murmurs of impetuous caſcades; there are no purling ſtreams in our groves to temper the

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(3) This valley of Flower-Dale divides Walton and Hedley, and ends about a mile below Epſom, butting upon a hill on the other ſide Ewell river.

the ſhrill notes of the warbling choriſters, whoſe never-ceaſing concerts exceed BONONCINI and CORELLI: the woods are not frequented by the unhappy, that they may liſten to the ſoft whiſpers of ſome gentle rivulet to beguile and mitigate their cares; the vallies are not divided by the curling waves, and ſporting whirl-pools of rapid rivers; neither are the flowry meads reviv'd by gliding meanders, cool bubling ſprings, or ſtagnant lakes. I leave you to gueſs, whether in theſe periods I deſign'd to ſhow how well read I am in bombaſt-romance, or rather to refreſh the heated imagination, by exhibiting the various images under which water naturally delights us in the country. Ewell, an antient market-town within an eaſy mile, has a moſt plentiful ſpring, the head of a cryſtal brook; capable, were it here, to furniſh a thouſand ornaments and conveniences. And I am perſuaded from phyſical reaſons, that the digging a trench of a reaſonable depth, for a quarter of a mile (along the rivulet over Epſom-court-meadows) from the now-uncertain ſprings in Church-ſtreet, would quickly produce a ſtream, that in three quarters of a mile farther ſhould fall in with the other, and give it the more dignify'd name of Epſom-river. But this preſent defect (for I augurate an approaching remedy) is amply recompens'd by every thing beſides.

The two rival Bowling-greens are not to be forgot, on which all the company by turns, after diverting themſelves in the morning according to their different fancies, make a gallant appearance every evening (eſpecially on Saturdays and Mondays) muſick playing moſt of the day, and dancing ſometimes crowning the night: as every new comer is awaken'd out of his ſleep the firſt morning, by the ſame muſic, which goes to welcome them to Epſom. The Ladies, to ſhow their innate inclination to variety, are conſtantly tripping from one green to the other; and the Men are not more ſure to follow 'em, than glad of the occaſion, to excuſe their own no leſs propenſity to change.

Here the Britiſh beauties, like ſo many animated ſtars, ſhine in their brighteſt luſtre; not half ſo much by their precious jewels and coſtly apparel, as by the more pointed glories of their eyes. Here every old man wiſhes himſelf young again, and the heart of every youth is captivated at once and divided between a thouſand deſerving charms. A fairer circle was never ſeen at Baiæ or Cumæ of old, nor of late at Carels-bad or Aix-la-chapelle, than is to be admir'd on both the Greens and in both the Long-rooms on a public day. If the German baths outnumber us in Princeſſes, we outſhine 'em in Nymphs and Goddeſſes, to whom their Princes wou'd be proud to pay adoration. But not to diſſemble any thing, bountiful nature has likewiſe provided us with other faces and ſhapes, I may add, with another ſet of dreſs, ſpeech, and behavior (not to mention ages) ordain'd to quench the cruel flames, or to damp the inordinate deſires, which the young, the handſom, and the accompliſh'd, might undeſignedly kindle: ſo neceſſary is an antidote to love, where the diſeaſe is ſo catching and ſo fatal!

In the raffling ſhops are loſt more hearts than guineas, tho' Cupid be no where ſo liberal as in England. And the greateſt order, that in ſuch caſes can be expected (however to me it be a rout) is preſerv'd at the gaming-tables of every kind; where it is very diverting for a ſtander by to obſerve the different humors and paſſions of both ſexes, which diſcover themſelves with leſs art and reſerve at play, than on any other occaſion. There you'll ſee a ſparkiſh young fellow of twenty five, ſitting right over a blooming beauty of eighteen, but ſo intent on gain and the dice, that he never exchanges a word or a look with her: while a little lower you may ſmile at an old hunks, that loves his mony as well as any in the city, yet loſing it as faſt as he plays, by having his eyes wholly off his cards, and fixt on a green girl of thirteen, that cares as little for any man there, as he does for his wife at home. The rude, the ſullen, the noiſy, and the affected, the peeviſh, the covetous, the litigious, and the ſharping, the proud, the prodigal, the impatient, and the impertinent, become viſible foils to the well-bred, prudent, modeſt, and good humour'd, in the eyes of all impartial beholders. Our Doctors,

tors, inſtead of preſcribing the waters for the vapors or the ſpleen, order their patients to be aſſiduous at all public meetings; knowing that (if they be not themſelves of the number) they'll find abundant occaſion to laugh at bankrupt fortune-hunters, crazy or ſuperannuated beaus, marry'd coquets, intriguing prudes, richly dreſt waiting maids, and complimenting footmen. But being convinc'd, MADAM, that you diſlike a malicious inſinuation, as much as you approve an inſtructive hint, I abſtain from all particular characters; ſparing even thoſe, who ſpare none but themſelves.

From this account it is plain we are not quite in Heaven here, tho' we may juſtly be ſaid to be in Paradiſe: a place cohabited by innocence and guilt, by folly and fraud, from the beginning. The judicious EUDOXA will naturally conclude, that ſuch a concourſe of all ranks of people, muſt needs fill the ſhops with moſt ſorts of uſeful and ſubſtantial wares, as well as with finer goods, fancies, and toys. The Taverns, the Inns, and the Coffee-houſes anſwer the reſort of the place. And I muſt do our coffee-houſes the juſtice to affirm, that for ſocial virtue they are equal'd by few, and exceeded by none, tho' I wiſh they may be imitated by all. A Tory does not ſtare and leer when a Whig comes in, nor a Whig look ſour and whiſper at the ſight of a Tory. Theſe diſtinctions are laid by with the winter ſuit at London, and a gayer eaſier habit worn in the country:

even foreigners have no reaſon to complain of being ill receiv'd in this part of the Iſland.

Religion, that was deſign'd to calm, does not ruffle mens tempers by irreligious wranglings: nor does our moderation appear by rude invectives againſt perſons we do not know, no more than our charity does conſiſt in fixing odious characters on ſuch as unwillingly diſſent from us. But, if at any time we muſt needs deal in extremes, then we prefer the quiet good-natur'd Hypocrite to the implacable turbulent Zealot of any kind. In plain terms, we are not ſo fond of any ſet of notions, as to think 'em more important than the peace of ſociety. Curſt be thoſe Prieſts and Politicians (as they are ſure to fall ſooner or later a victim to good ſenſe) who ſo induſtriouſly propagate diſcord and inhumanity in Britain! while in Holland (for example) tho' they differ, as all men muſt unavoidably do, in their ſentiments of many things in Religion, and that they have oppoſite intereſts in the ſtate; yet this is ſo far from exaſperating, that it renders them more remarkably civil, as the certaineſt means to gain on each others perſuaſion, or at leaſt on their good opinion. They are not branded there for their Creeds, nor their Faith ridiculouſly ſollicited with promiſes of favor or preferment; which wou'd be an infallible method to bring all perſons void of honor or conſcience to make an open profeſſion of their national religion, and then (what's worſt of all) to cover their inſincerity with the furious pretext of zeal. Private advantage (believe me) but not the fear of God or the love of man, is the adequate, the true, the only ſource both of Hypocriſy and Perſecution: for a real perſuaſion is as far from needing any ſuch intereſted baits, as an averſion to mens perſons for the ſake of their opinions is from being a mark of judgment or grace. Neither eccleſiaſtical ſavageneſs, nor political enthuſiaſm, follow theſe our beſt allies from the coffee-houſe to the tavern, nor from the exchange to their own tables, no, nor even to church itſelf: and the man, of what color or profeſſion ſoever, wou'd be counted no leſs unmannerly than ſtrangely aſſuming, that ſhou'd preſcribe to another what company he ought to keep. His own after that wou'd be no longer coveted, nor indeed eaſily admitted. And I doubt not but ſome ſuch magiſterial ſawcineſs of old, was the original of a preſent wiſe cuſtom, which makes it ſcandalous for a ſort of men (I will not name out of reſpect) to be ſeen in taverns or coffee-houſes. This makes all people eaſy. No dictators, no informers. The Dutch (in a word) are ſo intermix'd and intermarry'd, that you can never gueſs at their ſect or party by public converſation; and, to do it, you muſt follow a man to his chapel or to his cloſet: for all promiſcuous diſcourſes on theſe ſubjects, are manag'd with the ſame cheerfulneſs and indifference, that they do any other topics.

pics. If we muſt needs emulate the Dutch, for heaven ſake let's do it in theſe laudable reſpects, and not fooliſhly damn 'em for being more induſtrious than our ſelves. In the mean time, let the wiſe and well-meaning, the able and honeſt of all denominations, heartily join together to carry on the public cauſe, and mutually bear with one another's incurable differences or infirmities, becoming in this laſt reſpect perfect *Interpendants*. Let free-born Britons be the common deſignation for the future; and no diſtinction be known among us, but only of ſuch as are for civil liberty, toleration, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and of ſuch others as are for abſolute ſlavery, perſecution, and a popiſh pretender.

A juſt indignation at our ſenſeleſs quarrels has extorted this cenſure, like ſome epiſode in a Poem. But (that I may not digreſs too far, tho' in a place where you may ramble long enough without fearing to loſe your way) I am pretty ſure I ſhall be forgiven this tranſport for Unity by our Governor himſelf. So we uſually call, MADAM, a Gentleman of our ſociety here, that for good humor, good breeding, and good living, is eſteem'd by all thoſe who poſſeſs or underſtand theſe qualities. He's a profeſt enemy to all party-diſputes, he's the arbiter of all differences; and in promoting the intereſt of this town, which he has frequented for many years, 'tis plain that he looks upon virtue as its own reward. His choice of the place is of a piece with his judgment in every thing: for as England is the plentifulleſt country on earth, ſo no part of it is ſupply'd with more diverſity of the beſt proviſions, both from within itſelf and from the adjacent villages, than Epſom. The nearneſs of London does in like manner afford it all the exotic preparatives and allurements to luxury, whenever any is diſpos'd to make a ſumptuous banquet, or to give a genteel collation. You wou'd think yourſelf in ſome enchanted camp, to ſee the peaſants ride to every houſe with the choiceſt fruits, herbs, roots, and flowers, with all ſorts of tame and wild fowl, with the rareſt fiſh and veniſon, and with every kind of butcher's meat, among which Banſted-down mutton is the moſt reliſhing dainty.

Thus to ſee the freſh and artleſs damſels of the plain, either accompany'd by their amorous ſwains or aged parents, ſtriking their bargains with the nice court and city Ladies, who, like Queens in a Tragedy, diſplay all their finery on benches before their doors (where they hourly cenſure, and are cenſur'd) and to obſerve, how the handſomeſt of each degree equally admire, envy, and cozen one another, is to me one of the chief amuſements of the place. The Ladies who are too lazy or too ſtately, but eſpecially thoſe that ſit up late at play, have their proviſions brought to their bed-ſide, where they conclude the bargain; and then (perhaps after a diſh of Chocolate) take t'other nap, till what they have thus bought is got ready for dinner. Yet theſe rounds of the Haglers (which I would have by no means aboliſh'd, and which may be call'd a travelling market) are not incompatible with a daily fix'd Market in the middle of the town, not only as a farther entertainment for the Ladies, who love occaſions of coming together, no leſs than the men, but likewiſe becauſe a greater choice of every thing may be had there, and at all hours, than poſſibly can be at their doors: nor would it be more advantageous to the meaner ſort for cheapneſs, than convenient for the neighbouring Gentry on many accounts.

The new fair during the Eaſter holy-days, and that on the twenty fourth of July, are as yet of little moment, tho' capable in time to be highly improv'd. Even VENUS had a mole; and goſſipping is the greateſt objection I have ever heard made to EPSOM. But beſides that this is common to it, with all places of narrow compaſs, eſpecially places of public reſort: ſo, next to not deſerving any cenſure at all, the beſt remedy is, not to mind the unavoidable chat of idle people, who are generally ſufferers in the end. But what fence is there any where againſt ignorance and prejudice? When I have known at Hampſtead ſome houſe-keepers ſo ſilly, as to let their rooms ſtand empty, rather than to fill them with Jews: tho' theſe people are known to give as good rates as any other whatſoever, and that they are as ready to promote all the diverſions of the place. Yet, tho' ignorance and prejudice, as I ſaid, do thrive amain every where in the world; ſo wiſe men will ever be eaſy in ſpite of both.

So much for the Town. Nor is my pleaſure diminiſh'd by excurſions out of it: for no where has nature indulg'd her ſelf in grateful variety, more than in this canton. The old Wells at half a mile's diſtance, which formerly us'd to be the meeting place in the forenoon, are not at preſent ſo much in vogue; the waters, they ſay, being found as good within the village, and all diverſions in greater perfection. The view from the fertile Common in which they lye, is, as from every elevation hereabouts, wonderfully delightful; eſpecially ſo diſtinct a proſpect of London at ſo great a diſtance. But the fortuitous cure of a leprous ſhepherd (an origin attributed to theſe in common with other ſuch Wells) appears even hence to be fabulous, that they have never ſince had the like effect: tho' otherwiſe theſe aluminous waters are experienc'd to be very beneficial in gently cleanſing the (4) body, in cooling the head, and purifying the blood; the ſalt, that is chymically made of 'em, being famous over all Europe. Yet the cold Bath, lately erected on the bottom of this pretended miracle, meets with as little encouragement, as the old ſtory it ſelf does with belief; it not being the faſhion in this, as in ſome other countries, to have all ſalutiferous waters under the inſpection of the parſon, or the protection of a ſaint. The hunting of a Pig there every monday morning, when the only knack conſiſts in catching and holding him up by the tail, is infinitely more becomeing the boys that perform it, than the ſpectators that employ 'em. As for a cold Bath, Ewell would by much be the propereſt place; ſince, by reaſon of the ſpring, the water may not only be chang'd for every new comer, but a baſin be likewiſe made adapted for ſwimming, which on ſuch occaſions was the practice of the antients.

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(4) Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo. *Hor. Epiſt.* 16. *lib.* 1.

But to ſhift our ſcenes: from the Ring on the moſt eminent part of the Downs, where I have often counted above ſixty coaches on a Sunday evening, and whence the painter muſt take his view when he repreſents EPSOM, you may diſtinctly ſee nine or ten counties in whole or in part. Beſides the imperial city of London, very many conſiderable towns, and an infinite number of country-ſeats, you alſo ſee the two Royal Palaces of Windſor and Hampton-Court. Within a mile and a half is the place, and only the place, where that other ſplendid Palace of Nonſuch (5) lately ſtood: a fit ſubject of reflection for thoſe, who are inclined to moralize on the frailty, uncertainty, and viciſſitude of all things. You may from thence, further perceive with your glaſs, the ruins of the moſt antient Palace of Eltham in Kent, and that of Oatlands in this ſame county of Surry; where was likewiſe the Saxon Royal ſeat of Croydon, the modern one of Richmond, the royal manor of Wokeing, with ſeveral more of this rank, which ſhews the good taſte of our former Kings. But not to quit our Downs for any court, the great number of Gentlemen and Ladies, that take the air every evening and morning on horſeback, and that range either ſingly or in ſeparate companies over every hill and dale, is a moſt entertaining object. You can never miſs of it on the fine grounds of the new orbicular Race, which may well be term'd a rural Cirque. The four-mile courſe over the Warren-houſe to Carſalton, a village abounding in delicious ſprings as much as we want 'em, ſeldom likewiſe fails to afford me this pleaſure: having all the way in my eye (like ſome cynoſure) the tufted trees of the old Roman fortification (6) Burrough, properly ſituated to crown the downs, and once in my opinion reigning over all the groves. I except not that of Durdans famous for love, nor even Aſhted-mount the manſion of the graces. Sutton and Cheam, tho' not too low, are yet in

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(5) A great part of it ſtood in my own time, and I have ſpoken with thoſe that ſaw it entire.

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(6) I am not the firſt that made BURGH a Roman fortreſs; for, in the poſthumous edition of Dr. GALE's *Annotations on* ANTONINE's *Itinerary*, it will be found there were Roman Garriſons, not only at Burrough (call'd by the Saxons Burgh from the old fort) but likewiſe at Ben'sbury by Wimbledon, at Gatton, and ſuch other advantageous poſts near the city NOVIOMAGUM on Woodcote-warren.

winter too (7) dirty; as Walton and Hedley are both too windy, too (8) woody, and therefore in ſummer too cloſe.

This I inſert for your information, nobleſt CHERUSCUS, to whom I'm confident EUDOXA will communicate this Letter; ſince you have wiſely reſolv'd (as you do every thing) to purchaſe a ſummer retreat, coſt what it will, ſomewhere in this neighbourhood. But whether you gently ſtep over my favorite Meadows, planted on all ſides quite to (9) Woodcot-ſeat, in whoſe long grove I ofteneſt converſe with my ſelf: or that you walk further on to Aſhted-houſe and Park, the ſweeteſt ſpot of ground in our Britiſh world: or ride ſtill further to the enchanting proſpect of Box-hill, that temple of nature, no where elſe to be equall'd for affording ſo ſurprizing and magnificent an idea both of heaven and earth: whether you loſe yourſelf in the aged yew-groves of Mickle-ham, as the river Mole does hide itſelf in the (10) Swallows beneath, or that you had rather try your patience

(7) The dirtineſs of Cheam is not the fault of the place, which is naturally dry, but proceeds from the negligence of the inhabitants; from which imputation, I wiſh Epſom it ſelf were wholly free.

(8) This objection is not like to continue long, ſince ſo many woods have been fell'd and grubb'd up of late, that the country is rather in danger of being left too bare: tho' the raiſing of wood for timber, or fuel, or ſhelter, or ornament, be the eaſieſt thing in the world; and that we are no leſs bound to make this proviſion for poſterity, than our Anceſtors have done it for us.

(9) It belongs to the right honourable the Lord BALTIMORE.

(10) See the deſcription of Box-hill.

patience in angling for trouts about Leatherhead: whether you go to ſome cricket-match and other prizes of contending villagers, or chuſe to breath your horſe at a (11) Race, and to follow a pack of hounds in the proper ſeaſon: whether, I ſay, you delight in any or every one of theſe, EPSOM is the place you muſt like before all (12) others.

I that love the country entirely, and to partake in ſome meaſure of moſt diverſions (except gaming) have fixt my reſidence here; where I continue the whole ſummer, and whither I withdraw frequently in winter. Nor are theſe I now nam'd my only inducements: for as I prefer Retirement to Solitude, and ſo wou'd have it in my power to be alone or in company at pleaſure, I cou'd be no where better fitted beſides; every body meeting his acquaintance on the Bowling-greens, in the Coffee-houſes, in the Long-rooms, or on the Downs; and few viſiting others at their houſes unleſs particularly invited, or where friendſhip has made all things common. 'Tis otherwiſe among themſelves with chance-lodgers, who come purely for diverſion. In two or three hours time I can be at London, whenever I will, at my eaſe; and, if I have no buſineſs in town, I can receive all the public news as well, and almoſt as ſoon, at EPSOM: ſeveral

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(11) Banſtead-downs are very famous for horſe-matches, as there is not a properer place in the world for this ſport.

(12) Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet. *Hor. Od. 6. lib. 2.*

veral ſtage-coaches going and returning every day, with town and country waggons more than once a week; not to mention the ordinary poſt, that arrives every morning, Sundays excepted. Thus I remove at pleaſure, as I grow weary of the country or the town, as I avoid a crowd, or ſeek (13) company.

Here then, Eudoxa, let me have Books and Bread enough without dependance, a bottle of Hermitage and a plate of Olives for a ſelect friend; with an early roſe to preſent a young Lady, as an emblem of diſcretion no leſs than of beauty: and I ingloriouſly reſign (from that minute) my ſhare of all titles and preferments to ſuch as are in love with hurry, pay court to envy, or divert themſelves with care; to ſuch as are content to ſquare their lives by the ſmiles or frowns of others, and who are reſolv'd to live poor that they may die rich. Let ſome therefore hide their aking ſcars under laurels, or raiſe eſtates to their children by ruining their clients, or ſquander the gettings of their fathers in corrupting elections againſt their country; while others kill whom they can't cure, or preach what they don't believe: but grant me, ye powers, luxurious tranquillity!

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(13) Hæc mihi non procul urbe ſita eſt, nec prorſus ad urbem;
Ne patiar turbas, utque bonis potiar:
Et quoties mutare locum faſtidia cogunt,
Tranſeo; & alternis rure vel urbe fruor.
Auſon. Edyl. 3.

You have here, Madam, the deſcription that you demanded of EPSOM, and my reaſons for liking the place. But the main attractive is ſtill unſaid. I have other Miſtreſſes that charm me in the neighbourhood, beſide thoſe which may be gain'd with ſome addreſs and pains in a town ſo well ſtock'd with beauties. I make no queſtion, but you'll preſently think, I mean the lonely Shepherdeſſes on the wide downs, or the plain farmers daughters as they go to hay-making, to harveſt, a nutting, a milking, or perhaps to turn in or out their harmleſs cattle: amours that Gods and Heroes have not diſdain'd. This, I repeat it, will be your firſt thought, which wou'd be uncivil in me to contradict. But I know your next reflection will be, that I allude to the nine Muſes, which meet me in every lawn and every grove, in every ſhady bower and ſolitary glade. Minerva is to be met on our downs as well as (14) Diana: and if ever I go a hunting, 'tis always (as a learned Roman has recorded of himſelf) with a pocket-book and a pencil, that if I happen to take nothing, I may yet bring ſomething (15) home. Nor is this all. To us lovers of the country, the lowing of oxen, the bleating of ſheep, the piping of ſhep-

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(14) Experieris non Dianam magis montibus quàm Minervam inerrare. *Plin. lib. 1. epiſt. 6.*

(15) Venor aliquando: ſed non ſine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. *Idem lib. 9. Epiſt. 36.*

herds, and the whiſtling of hinds, are charms for which the men of noiſe and buſineſs, with the men of pleaſure falſly ſo call'd, have neither taſte nor ear. O refreſhing Zephirs, bearing odors and ſpices on your wings, ſweeter than all artificial perfumes! O ye wild fruits and berries, ye tender buds and fragrant flowers, cropt with my own hands, preferable to the repaſts of Biſhops! O cooling ſhades and grots, ye retir'd caves, moſſy ſprings, and awful woods! ye ſpacious plains, ecchoing valleys, and majeſtick hills, far more pleaſant than the well-known Courts of Princes! I call you all to witneſs, that, tir'd with ſport or ſtudy, and ſleeping on the graſs under a ſpreading beech, I enjoy not a more ſolid and ſecure repoſe, than the proudeſt monarch in his gilded Palace? In ſuch places, MADAM, (if I dare flatter myſelf that I am ſometimes happy in your remembrance) you'll imagine to ſee me wandring as void of care as of ambition, and always a book in my hand or in my (16) head: yet ſtill with a deſign of returning more entertaining to private converſation, or more ſerviceable to publick ſociety. But wherever I am, or however employ'd, you may depend upon it (and I know you'll generouſly do ſo) that as none is higher in my eſteem, ſo none is oftener in my thoughts, than the every way incomparable EUDOXA. Of this the conſciouſneſs of her own worth aſſures her: and therefore 'tis purely form obliges me to add, that with a zeal and ſincerity not poſſible to be expreſt, I am, *&c.*

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(16) Tacitum ſilvas inter reptare ſalubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum ſapiente bonoque eſt.
Hor. Epiſt. 4. lib. 1.

THE PRIMITIVE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

With an Account of the principal Controverſies about Church-Government, which at preſent divide the Chriſtian World.

CHAP. I.

The Occaſion and Argument of the Work.

I. SINCE Religion, SIR, no longer ſignifies an inſtitution that informs the mind, and rectifies the manners, but is become the diſtinguiſhing name of Sect and Party; happy is that man who is not ſo rigidly narrow, ſour, uneaſy, and cenſorious, as his Religion wou'd make him, if it be in a ſuffering condition; nor ſo intolerably inſolent, vexatious, oppreſſing, and deſtructive, as if it has the countenance of authority. The one of theſe hates the man who excludes him from publick truſt, he ſeverely obſerves his failings, and watches an opportunity to ſhake off his yoke: the other will engroſs to himſelf all preferments, he unmercifully puniſhes the expoſer of his actions, and keeps him down the more to prevent his revenge. Mutual exaſperations muſt neceſſarily follow; then Perſecutions, Depopulations, Tumults, and Wars. This makes it of the greateſt conſequence therefore to any good Government, that the principal members of it be rightly inform'd, and have due notions, not only of what's true in ſpeculation, but likewiſe of what's uſeful in practice, or beneficial to the ſociety. And if they begin with the laſt, they may be ſure to diſcover the firſt: for nothing that ſerves to leſſen the quiet, peace, union, and happineſs of men, can be true Religion; ſince one of its main ends (and perhaps the chiefeſt in this world) is to retain 'em the more effectually in their ſeveral duties.

II. BUT what diſpoſes me more readily than my duty it ſelf, SIR, to write on this ſubject for your ſatisfaction, is, that I cannot remember to have ever met with a certain Gentleman (whom I need not name or deſcribe to you, and who has more opportunities than I to be about your perſon) but he preſently magnify'd the Church, rail'd againſt Schiſmaticks, or expreſt his abhorrence of Hereticks. Nor, to do him juſtice, is he ſingular in this; for moſt other men talk with admiration of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the Order of Prieſthood, without which they believe that no Religion or community can ſubſiſt. That this opinion has long and largely reign'd, I acknowledge; tho', to ſpeak freely, I do not for all that think the Clergy to be the Church, nor, where they differ from other men, to be any part of the Chriſtian Religion. I do not admit the Church it ſelf to be a Society under a certain form of Government and Officers; or that there is in the world at preſent, and that there has continu'd for 1704 years paſt, any conſtant Syſtem of Doctrine and Diſcipline maintain'd by ſuch a Society, deſerving the title of the Catholick Church, to which all particular Churches ought to conform or ſubmit, and with which all private perſons are oblig'd to hold communion. Much leſs do I believe that there was inſtituted in the Church a peculiar Order of Prieſts (tho' Chriſtian Prieſts I do allow) no Prieſts, I ſay, whoſe office it is to inſtruct the People alone, and ſucceſſively to appoint thoſe of their own function, whether by the hands of one preſiding Biſhop, or of ſeveral equal Presbyters, Paſtors, Miniſters, or Prieſts of any degree or denomination. And leaſt of all will I grant, that either Princes or Prieſts may juſtly damnify any perſon in his reputation, property, liberty, or life, on the account of his religious Profeſſion; nor lay him under any incapacities for not conforming to the national manner of Worſhip, provided he neither profeſſes nor practiſes any thing repugnant to human Society, or the civil Government where he lives.

III. THESE are not the means inſtituted by CHRIST and his Apoſtles, nor directed by true prudence to ſupport the dignity and power of Religion: neither is it difficult for any man, not partial or negligent, to find out thoſe means; nor impoſſible to put ~~them in~~ execution, when diſcover'd. There is a vaſt difference between the Doctrine of CHRIST, and the methods appointed to propagate or to preſerve it. Now this is the very caſe: for it is not out of a regard to his ordination, degree or function (of all which in their places) that a Prieſt is reckon'd a Chriſtian; but only as he believes the Doctrines, and practiſes the Duties taught by JESUS CHRIST; which is common to him with all other perſons; or otherwiſe none but a Prieſt cou'd be properly ſaid to be of any Religion. Yet ſince it became more advantageous to be a ſervant to the Church than one of its members, and more honourable to be a Prieſt than a mere Chriſtian; Religion, by which they get no more than others, has been generally neglected by the Clergy; and Diſcipline, wherein conſiſts all their power and profit, is made almoſt the ſole argument of their preaching and diſputes. Diſcipline, and not Religion, occaſion'd the Schiſm of the Eaſt and Weſt. Hence aroſe the firſt and principal conteſts betwixt the Papiſt and the Proteſtants: from the ſame cauſe proceeded the impoſitions of the Engliſh Hierarchy upon the Diſſenters from it; nor are the latter divided into Preſbyterians and Independents on any other ſcore. In a word, much the greateſt part of the inhuman barbarities, controverſies, and diviſions of Chriſtians, with nine parts in ten of the religious volumes they have written, owe their being to the oppoſite factions of Prieſts, and to their various forms of Church-Government.

IV. THUS while the Clergy are contending for their own ſuperiority and advantage, the Laity (as if they were afraid to ſuffer for their neutrality) warmly take ſides in a quarrel wherein they are not in the leaſt concern'd: only that the great point in debate is commonly about the likelieſt means of making themſelves ſlaves, without their perceiving it; or how to keep 'em in ſubjection, ſhou'd they grow weary of their chains. This is ſelf-evident in the diſpute about Occaſional Conformity, which divides our Nation at preſent, and is like to give us more diſturbance in time to come. Yet 'tis Diſcipline and not Religion, not Chriſtianity but the Church, that is the occaſion of thoſe unnatural heats, ſcandalous libels, bitter invectives, foul aſperſions, malicious reports, and irreconcileable factions, which from thence have taken their riſe, or that make it a new pretence to cover antient animoſities. The worſt part of the Epiſcopal Clergy endeavour moſt ſtrenuouſly to bring all the griſt to their own mills; and the moſt ignorant among the Diſſenting Miniſters ſtruggle as ſtoutly to keep back thoſe by whoſe cuſtom they get their livelihood: while the honeſt men on all ſides make large allowances and conceſſions, without being violent or uncharitable in any thing .The honour and authority of both is nearly concern'd in the number of their adherents. Ambitious Stateſmen ſtimulate and encourage the one, or protect and uphold the other (how indifferent ſoever they may be to the merits of the cauſe) as it contributes to ſerve their own private purpoſes, or to gratify the aims of the Prince. And all this while the People, who are the very play-thing and foot-ball of theſe cunning gameſters, are with much addreſs made to believe, that their good and happineſs is the grand matter in queſtion; each party pretending to be zealouſly eſpouſing their intereſts, or, to be ſure, the People wou'd not be ſuch fools as to eſpouſe theirs. Neverthleleſs, which ever ſide they defend or oppoſe, which ever faction they deſert or embrace, they are neither more nor leſs Chriſtians than they were before: they learn no new ſpiritual Doctrine, nor no new moral duty; and conſequently they become neither wiſer nor better men.

V. WITH all this, SIR, be pleas'd to do juſtice to thoſe that deſerve it, when you are ſo prone to be merciful to offenders: for you are not to imagine that every man goes upon one or other of theſe falſe bottoms; and that thoſe very perſons who defend the truth among us, are only in the right by accident. There are thoſe in the Court, in the Senate, of the Church, of the Law, and in the Camp, in the capital City, and in all parts of the country, who are not the ſervile flatterers, nor implicit followers of other mens Opinions; who ſeek neither profit nor applauſe, nor authority nor revenge: but who oppoſe all arbitrary impoſitions on the Underſtanding or Conſciences of men, from a generous affection to their own ſpecies, out of a right knowledge of human nature, and for advancing the flouriſhing ſtate of the commonwealth. Not (as many do, who yet are not the worſt rank of men) for temporary ends and politick accommodations, but from a deep and juſt ſenſe of impartial, full, divine, and eternal liberty. Theſe are the perſons to whom the nation is indebted for wealth and tranquillity at home, for power and reputation abroad: whereas the firſt would ſoon be ruin'd, and the ſecond be ſooner loſt, might thoſe of narrow affections, bigotted notions, of ſordid or ambitious inclinations, manage affairs, and overbear the reſt. Theſe are the men, who having receiv'd their light and knowledg from reaſonable arguments, are not for converting others by dint of blows; who leave all parties their free choice, without being unſettled or indifferent in their own Faith; and who, tho' they act themſelves on true Principles, are often oblig'd to work on the prepoſſeſſions of their neighbours, to procure a majority in favour of truth. May they receive the excellent and unſpeakable rewards of Virtue! may their names and actions be faithfully tranſmitted to poſterity! and may their worthy examples be emulouſly follow'd by thoſe of the preſent and the future time, by this nation, and by all the regions of the earth!

VI. BUT all other ſorts of men are ſo tranſported by their paſſions, or ſo intent on their particular views and deſigns, that they are deaf to whatever can be ſaid to 'em on this ſubject. Intereſt never conſiders right or wrong, but power and advantage. And let a man offer the cleareſt demonſtrations, his pains will be thrown away on ſuch as are guided more by prejudice or cuſtom, than by reaſon and convenience. But ſince I write to one who profeſſes a greater love for truth, than fondneſs for any Church or form in the world; who declares he'll never think himſelf too old nor too great to learn; and that he'll neither be aſham'd nor afraid to change, whenever he meets with ſufficient motives: I ſhall therefore with all imaginable plainneſs deliver my own ſentiments, which I have not adopted out of ſingularity, ſince I have not ſought renown by publiſhing them under my name; nor yet out of intereſt, ſince they are not the opinions to which rewards or preferments are annext; and leaſt of all from education, ſince there's no place nor ſociety wherein they are publickly taught. But I have, by a free enquiry and diligent application, learnt them from the dictates of right reaſon, from my own obſervations on the beſt governments in the world, and from the original Conſtitution of Chriſtianity.

VII. AS I call all things by their proper names, ſo I endeavour to reſtore Words to their genuine ſignifications, and to reſcue them from ſophiſtry, ambiguity, and obſcurity. Many, without deſigning any fraud, impoſe on others by the expreſſions they uſe in an undetermin'd ſenſe, and are by the ſame confuſion alike deceiv'd in their turn. To employ terms ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, pretending all the while to mean but one thing, is a diſhoneſt artifice, a ſophiſm in logick, and whereof the author muſt probably be ever conſcious to himſelf. But to define your words, and to aſſign the idea you defend or oppoſe, is not only the faireſt dealing, but alſo the ſafeſt; and, between unfeign'd enquirers after truth, 'tis the moſt certain way to ſhorten controverſies, as well as for men to differ without breach of charity, without indecent language, or mutual diſeſteem. Where I agree with others, I think not my ſelf the leſs in the wrong merely for that, nor the more in the right where I diſagree with them; neither theirs nor my bare opinion being of any weight againſt truth. And as no party wou'd be thought to maintain all my notions, becauſe they may like ſome of 'em; ſo I wou'd not be denominated from any party for approving them in certain things, whereas I may diſapprove them in more. It is no ſmall artifice to give nicknames in Religion, and to beſtow an odious or a creditable title, according to the words in preſent faſhion: for what's the bugbear of one age is the honour of another; nay, what was twenty years ago the blackeſt crime, is now in many caſes the brigheſt merit: and the only thing to which moſt are conſtant, is, that if a man's not found within the pale of ſome certain Sect, he's look'd upon by all as an outlying deer, which it's lawful for every one to kill. But notwithſtanding my foreknowledge of this matter, yet, as I ſhall not ambitiouſly aſſume the name of any party, neither ſhall I be concern'd what name they'll pleaſe to impoſe upon me, ſo long as I know my ſelf to be a hearty well-wiſher to mankind, a ſincere lover of my country, and your no leſs faithful than dutiful Servant. Do me this juſtice, SIR, and proceed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Chriſtian Religion.

I. WHEN JESUS CHRIST, the moſt reſplendent ſun of ſanctity, juſtice, and knowledge, begun to diſperſe thoſe thick clouds of ignorance which from the Jews and Gentiles had much obſcur'd the perfect truth, he engag'd his principal followers in the noble task of reſcuing men from the tyranny of cuſtom, fraud, and force: and (inſtead of ſuperſtitious practices, introduc'd by the fooliſh, and improv'd by the crafty; inſtead of unintelligible theories, calculated as much for the authority of ſome, as for the ſubjection of others) he fixt the true notion of one God, and declar'd how he becomes propitious to rebellious man; he taught repentance and remiſſion of ſins; he injoin'd faith in himſelf as the MESSIAS and deliverer; he brought life and immortality to light, and ſettl'd morality upon its juſt and natural foundation.

II. HIS Diſciples, with a zeal becoming the laſt commands of their divine maſter (who ſuffer'd an ignominious death for the glorious cauſe of truth, and for the ſalvation of mankind) perform'd their part with almoſt equal danger and ſucceſs. Theſe extraordinary perſons were from their ſeveral provinces call'd ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Teachers;

and ſome by more of theſe names, as they were at certain times differently imploy'd, according to the ſeveral dialects of the places where they preach'd, or as ſynonymous terms in the ſame language and country. They were ty'd to no certain place nor conſtant reſidence, having generouſly undertaken, to the utmoſt of their power, to diffuſe the Chriſtian Doctrine among all nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preſervation of it whereſoever they planted it; tho' to the hazard of their own lives, and ready to ſeal the truth of it with their blood. When it came immediately out of their hands, it was no leſs plain and pure than uſeful and neceſſary; and, as being the concern of every man, it was equally underſtood by every body, as it was in reality promiſcuouſly offer'd to all ſorts and degrees of men. CHRIST did not inſtitute one Religion for the learned, and another for the vulgar. It is recorded on the contrary, that (1) *the common People heard him gladly*, that (2) *he preach'd the Goſpel to the Poor*; and he was not only follow'd by divers of the female ſex, but alſo among the converts of PAUL are reckon'd (3) *of the honourable Women not a few.* This ſuppoſes that having a good diſpoſition, they eaſily comprehended the evidence of the Chriſtian Doctrine, which therefore they imbrac'd and

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(1) *Mat.* xii. 37.
(2) *Mat.* xi. 5.
(3) *Acts* xvii. 12.

prefer'd to their own native but leſs edifying Religions.

III. AND certainly one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing advantages of true Chriſtianity is this, that neither poverty, nor want of letters, nor the hurry of particular callings, can hinder any perſon from acquiring it, without which it cou'd not be properly a perfect Religion: but rather on the ſame foot with the ceremonial worſhip of the Jews, with the ſecret myſteries of the Heathens, and with the abſtruſe doctrines of the Philoſophers; whereas it ſupplies the imperfections of the firſt, prevents the impoſture of the ſecond, and excludes the difficulties of the third. Not the borrow'd terms or poſitions of antient perplexing ſophiſters, not the barbarous jargon and idle diſtinctions of later ſcholaſtick wranglers, neither the precarious hypotheſes and nice ſubtilties of conceited doctors, nor the pretended inſpirations and ridiculous viſions of extravagant enthuſiaſts, were then erected into Articles of Faith. Truth was not then made the ſport of chance, and tumultuouſly decided by the votes of factions; nor any thing deliver'd for truth, but what viſibly tended to make men either the wiſer or the better. Curious queſtions about the Perſon of CHRIST were not ſubſtituted by his Apoſtles to his Doctrines; the circumſtantials were not made the fundamentals, nor the hiſtory of Chriſtianity transform'd into the eſſence of the ſame. That idolatry, thoſe fables, this pomp and pageantry, were not ſo early father'd upon himſelf, which then he was known actually to aboliſh and deſtroy. Nor cou'd he be then repreſented as the favourer of tyranny, or the founder of a more formal, ſuperſtitious, and impoſing Prieſthood than the Levitical, when he expreſly declar'd all his true followers (4) to be *Kings and Prieſts*, that is, the diſpoſers of their own liberty and the miniſters of their own ſacrifices, as being voluntary members of ſociety, and the worſhippers of God in ſpirit and truth.

IV. AND here, as a moſt tractable learner, I wou'd addreſs my ſelf to thoſe that are more knowing, deſiring information in this point; namely, to what purpoſe any thing can ſerve, which does not render us either wiſer or better men than we were before? For what produces neither of theſe effects, cannot be comprehended, and therefore in that reſpect is wholly uſeleſs; ſince what we don't underſtand cannot make us the wiſer, and if we are not the wiſer, how can we be the better? But if this be granted (as I can yet perceive no reaſon why it ſhou'd not) then I wou'd again be inform'd why nations, provinces, families, friends, and acquaintance ſhou'd be diſturb'd, why all union ſhou'd be diſſolv'd, affections divided, laws ſubverted, or governments unhing'd,

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(4) *Rev.* i. 6.

about ſuch things as no mortal can either conceive to himſelf or explain to others? as the Judgments and Decrees of God; the manner of his Subſiſtence, of his will, or underſtanding; the immediate State of departed Souls; the Reſurrection of the ſame numerical body; with other ſubjects which are thought more eaſy, but which are not better known. Yet hence in great part proceed the inhuman diviſions of Chriſtians, tho' this be not the only nor the greateſt cauſe: whereas nothing can be wiſer, plainer, truer, and conſequently more divine, than what CHRIST and his Apoſtles have propos'd about the means of reconciling God to ſinners; of purifying the mind, and rectifying the manners; of illuminating the underſtanding, guiding the conſcience, and directing particular duties; of confirming the hopes of recompence to the good, and denouncing the dread of puniſhment to the bad; of propagating mutual love, forbearance, and peace among all mankind; of cementing, maintaining, and ſupporting civil ſociety.

V. THE whole Chriſtian Religion was ſucceſſively and occaſionally committed to writing by certain of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and other Diſciples; and it ſummarily conſiſts in the belief and obſervation of the truths that were taught by its founder JESUS CHRIST. This, and this only, entitles men to the name of Chriſtians; not the preſcriptions of time or ſucceſſion, not the fancy'd prerogatives of any places or perſons. Whoever therefore receives the doctrines, and practiſes the commands of the Goſpel, is a true Chriſtian, however he came by his Religion; whether under the diſcipline of maſters, or by his own private induſtry and ſtudy. Nor can there be aſſign'd any good reaſon in the world, why a man may not learn his duty, ſettle his belief, and form the conduct of his life, by reading the volume entitl'd the NEW TESTAMENT, which contains the originals of the Chriſtian Religion; as another may regulate his perſuaſion and manners, by reading the Dialogues of PLATO, which contain the ſpeculations and morals of that Philoſopher. To ſay that to be a Platoniſt is an indifferent thing, but not ſo of a Chriſtian, is one of thoſe unwary expreſſions by which people know not what they mean themſelves. For if Platoniſm be truth, none ought to be indifferent to it, unleſs where the matter of it is indifferent in itſelf; nor even in ſuch a caſe can any body be indifferent to a truth that is made evident to him, unleſs we cou'd believe or disbelieve as we pleaſe, which is a thing in no man's power to do, whatever he may think fit to ſay. And if Platoniſm be falſe (as certainly in many things it is) then no perſon ought to be indifferent about imbracing a ſyſtem which he ought moſt carefully to examin, leſt he be miſtaken in his reaſons, and conſequenly miſled in his actions. But if it be meant that none ſhou'd be compell'd either to disbelieve or to profeſs Platoniſm, or any other Sect of Philoſophy, the ſame is as true of Chriſtianity; the preaching of the Goſpel, and the conviction of conſcience, being the only juſt and ordinary means to propagate it. The ſpeculative Doctrines of it are offer'd to the light of internal perſuaſion, and the moral Precepts of it are left to the care of external laws.

VI. I am not ignorant that, on the contrary, Chriſtians are pretended to be members of a form'd Society, into which they are admitted by peculiar Rites, which muſt be only perform'd by ſpecial Officers divinely commiſſion'd to that end, and to whoſe Government all the members are to be in conſtant ſubjection; as they are to be juſtly cenſur'd or expell'd, if they do not conform to the laws by which thoſe officers claim their authority. That this has been for more than a thouſand years paſt, as it is at preſent, the ſenſe of moſt (tho' not of all) Chriſtian Societies or Churches, however they may differ among themſelves as to the nature or extent of their Power, Ordination, or Function, I do moſt freely confeſs; as, on the other hand, I think I have good grounds to affirm it not to have been ſo from the beginning, not to be the true intention of the writings of the New Teſtament, nor to be the moſt reaſonable ſenſe that can be put upon them, and much leſs to follow from thence by any evidence or neceſſity. This is what I ſhall now endeavor to ſhew, and is the Argument of the following Chapters, wherein the proofs of it are to be ſought, and not here in the Introduction, as I my ſelf ſhall take no ſuch poſitive aſſertions for an anſwer from others.

VII. BUT before I begin this task, I think it not wide from my purpoſe to ſhew, how much nobler and more generous ideas ſome of (thoſe they call) the antient Fathers had of Chriſtianity; conceptions, I ſay, much more worthy and juſt than many of them, who, in our times, are not a little proud to ſtile themſelves their ſons. But let it be always remember'd that I am none of thoſe froward and undutiful children, ſuch as they have all been without exception, that comply with the will of their fathers only when it ſuits with their own, but that roundly diſobey and reject it when it thwarts or contradicts their favorite notions, which is the conſtant practice of every party. And that this is no more than the naked truth, I deſire that Church, nay, or that one man in the world to be nam'd, who agrees with every thing in all the Fathers, or in any one Father whatſoever. What I am therefore going to alledge, is left to impartial conſideration, not from the authority of the perſons, but from the reaſon of the things themſelves, compar'd with the teſtimony of the Scriptures:

tures: for matters are come at preſent to that paſs in the world, that I expect no thanks, but rather ill-will for what I have ſaid in commendation of the Chriſtian Religion; eſpecially from thoſe (whoever they be) that have chang'd it into an art of gain, and a ſyſtem of contention. Thus in the firſt preaching of it, ſuch as glory'd in being the only true Church did moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſe its progreſs, and the Prieſts were of all others its fierceſt enemies. Nor ought this to be reputed a wonder, ſince there is no ſuch ſatyr in nature againſt Prieſt-craft as the Goſpel of CHRIST; which ſo exaſperated the corrupt Prieſts of his time, that after growing weary of their captious diſputes, malicious calumnies, invidious inſinuations, opprobrious language, ſcurrilous reflections, falſe repreſentations, and cruel perſecutions, (the common and perpetual arts of the intereſted patrons of error) they never reſted till they brought him at laſt to the ſcandalous death of the croſs.

VIII. BUT not to digreſs: *Thoſe who live according to Reaſon* (ſays (5) JUSTIN MARTYR) *are Chriſtians, tho' they be reputed Atheiſts. Such among the Greeks were* SOCRATES, *and* HERACLITUS, *and all like to them; and ſuch among the Barbarians were* ABRAHAM, *and* ANANIAS, *and* AZARIAS, *and* MISAEL, *and* ELIAS, *and many others, whoſe names*

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(5) *Apol.* II. *Edit. Par. p.* 83.

names and actions, becauſe we think it tedious, we ſhal not at preſent rehearſe. How much more charitable is this opinion, than that of almoſt all Chriſtians at this time and for ſeveral ages paſt! who condemn SOCRATES, with all the pious, virtuous, juſt, heroick, and excellent perſons among the antients, to eternal torments, notwithſtanding their good works (which are gravely term'd ſplendid ſins) becauſe they did not believe what was never reveal'd nor propos'd to them, and therefore never requir'd nor made a part of their duty. If we do not agree with our Author that SOCRATES, and ſuch others, were properly Chriſtians, yet if we believe (as we cannot but do) that JESUS CHRIST taught a reaſonable Doctrine, it ſeems to be ſafer for us to follow thoſe latitudinarian notions of JUSTIN, than the more narrow, rigid, and damnatory decrees of others; ſince they are things, and not names, that determine worth, and that truth is the ſame, whether it be partly or wholly diſcover'd: beſides that the obligations under the Goſpel and the Law of Nature differing but as from leſs to more, there might in ſome ſenſe, according to the meaſure of their knowledge, be found true Chriſtians in the world, (and the holy Patriarchs we take to be ſuch) before (6) *the fulneſs of grace and truth* was reveal'd by CHRIST, from whom all that now offer a reaſonable worſhip, bear the denomination of Chriſtians.

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(6) *Joh.* i. 14.

IX. *AFTER* SOCRATES (ſays (7) the ſame JUSTIN) *had diligently endeavour'd by ſound Reaſon to make theſe things appear, and to draw men away from the Dæmons,* or falſe Gods, *thoſe very Dæmons by the means of men delighting in wickedneſs* (the Sophiſts concern'd for their glory, and the Prieſts for their offerings) *ſo order'd matters, that he was put to death for an Atheiſt and irreligious perſon, giving out that he introduc'd new Deities. And they ſerve us after the ſame manner; for theſe things were not only confuted from Reaſon among the Greeks by* SOCRATES, *but alſo among the Barbarians by Reaſon it ſelf transform'd or become a Man, and call'd* JESUS CHRIST; *by whom we being perſuaded, maintain that the Dæmons who do theſe things, are not only not good, but alſo evil and impious; ſuch whoſe beſt actions do not equal thoſe of virtuous men: wherefore we likewiſe are nicknam'd Atheiſts. And we acknowledge, that in reſpect of thoſe pretended Divinities we are Atheiſts, but not ſo of the moſt true God, the father of juſtice, and temperance, and all other virtues, without any mixture of evil.* 'Tis obſervable here how ſtrangely men are miſrepreſented to the world by a prevailing faction, and made to hold thoſe very things which they labour'd to deſtroy. SOCRATES, who intended to ſubvert the Doctrine of Dæmons, muſt himſelf have a familiar Dæmon; and while he eſtabliſh'd the *Dæmonium* or true God, 'tis preſently converted into a Dæmon or falſe God. This was likewiſe in divers reſpects the very caſe of JESUS CHRIST, on whom thoſe things have been ſpuriouſly charg'd, that he really deſign'd to overthrow. We may further perceive how liberally the epithet of Atheiſt has been thrown in all ages on men void of Superſtition, by the Prieſts and by the rabble; tho' the Chriſtians, who were ſo much and ſo unjuſtly charg'd with this crime at the beginning, ought even for that very reaſon to be more reſerv'd in imputing it to others, were they not likewiſe further reſtrain'd by the charity they are enjoin'd, and by which they are ever to think the beſt of every thing. And indeed there appears to be as much cauſe in this age for ſome body to make an Apology for learned men from being Atheiſts, as NAUDÆUS did in the laſt age from being Magicians; for this was the blackning cry of that time.

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(7) *Ibid. p.* 56.

X. JUSTIN in other places ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe; and CLEMENS of Alexandria comes not behind him, when he ſays, as from the mouth of the Apoſtle PETER, that (8) *God gave us a New Teſtament*, or manner of worſhipping him, *thoſe of the Jews and the Greeks being antiquated. But we that worſhip him of late*, adds he, *in a third way, are Chriſtians: for* PETER *clearly ſhews, in*

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(8) *Stromat. lib. 6. Edit. Par. p. 636.*

in my opinion, that one and the ſame God was known by the Greeks after the manner of the Heathens, by the Jews in their own Jewiſh way, but of late by us in a ſpiritual manner. A little after he affirms, that what the Prophets were to the Jews, the ſame were the Philoſophers to the Heathens; *God raiſing up among the Greeks the moſt approv'd perſons, and diſtinguiſhing them from the vulgar, according as they were capable to receive his favour, that they might ſerve for Prophets to their countrymen in their own language.* And laſtly, he ſays, that *as the Preaching of the Goſpel is now come in its due time; ſo in their ſeaſon were the Law and the Prophets given to the Jews, and Philoſophy to the Greeks.*

XI. SOME other Fathers were of theſe comprehenſive ſentiments, among whom I do reckon LACTANTIUS. Tho' the beſt part of his *Divine Inſtitutions* (for ſo he calls his Books) be childiſh declamation againſt the Philoſophers, and pitiful plagiariſm from CICERO; yet one thing he has advanc'd (9) in the ſixth Book, which creates me no ſmall wonder, conſidering the temper of the man: for he aſſerts that tho' no particular perſon or party has taught the whole truth, yet that it is eaſy to ſhew that all the truth is divided among the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers. *Now,* adds he a little further, *if there were any*

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(9) *Edit. Oxon. p.* 621, &c.

any perſon that wou'd collect together and digeſt into one body the Truth which lies ſcatter'd among each of theſe, and diffus'd throughout their Sects, certainly this man wou'd not diſagree with us. Then he ſays, that none can perform this without the aid of Revelation; but that *if any ſhou'd happen by chance to do it, he wou'd diſcover a moſt aſſur'd Philoſophy: and that tho' he cou'd not defend theſe things by divine teſtimonies, yet that truth wou'd recommend it ſelf by its proper luſtre.* An admirable Apologiſt, ſhall I rather ſay a betrayer of Chriſtianity? In the firſt place, by all Truth he muſt only mean all practical and moral virtues; ſince the Philoſophers knew nothing of the revelations or miracles either of the Jews, or of the Chriſtians. Secondly, I deny to LACTANTIUS, that, unleſs aſſiſted by Revelation, none can collect all thoſe truths which are ſcatter'd among the Philoſophers. Is this a proper argument from a Father for the neceſſity of Revelation? Or has he not forgot and contradicted himſelf in other places? For there's no reaſon why the perſon who diſcover'd two truths, might not add a third to 'em, to that a fourth, to this a fifth, and ſo on. Now if any one of the Philoſophers had written or invented ten or twenty of theſe truths (as ſeveral have done more) it is much eaſier for another to digeſt into one volume what they have all prepar'd to his hand, and left him only the labour of collecting: nor is this a matter that ſeems to require any other help, beſides books, judgment, application, and time. If it ſhou'd be objected that it was never yet done, this is more than can be warrantably affirm'd, without knowing all that ever has been done: tho', were it ſo, it follows by no means from thence, that it ſhall never be perform'd, ſince every thing has its time of beginning; and it were extream folly to argue that nothing ſhall be hereafter, which has no exiſtence at preſent: which reaſoning, had it been true yeſterday, this Diſcourſe had not been written to day.

XII. BUT leaving LACTANTIUS to the correction of thoſe, who can be angry with the Fathers when they advance what does not reliſh their own palats; I ſhall conclude with the idea which MINUTIUS FELIX has given of Chriſtianity, in his better Defence of it againſt the Heathen CÆCILIUS. *Do you think,* ſays he, (10) *that we conceal what we adore, becauſe we have no Temples or Altars? For what image can I frame of God, when if you rightly conſider, man himſelf is his image? What Temple ſhall I build for him, when the whole Univerſe, which he has made, is not able to contain him? And when I, that am but a man, can command a larger habitation, ſhall I confine the Power of the divine Majeſty within one ſmall Shrine? Shou'd we not rather dedicate a Temple to him in our minds, and*

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(10) *In Octavio. Edit. Lug. Bat. p.* 313.

and conſecrate an Altar for him in our hearts? Shall I offer thoſe things in Victims and Sacrifices to the Lord, which he has created for my uſe, ſcornfully throwing back his gifts to himſelf again? This were Ingratitude, when the moſt pleaſing Sacrifices to him are a good diſpoſition, a pure mind, and a ſincere conſcience. Whoever therefore keeps himſelf innocent, he prays to the Lord; he that loves juſtice, does offer him Sacrifice: whoever abſtains from fraud, procures the favour of God; and he that delivers any out of diſtreſs, makes him an agreeable offering. Theſe are our Sacrifices, this is our divine Service: ſo that whoever is the honeſteſt man among us, him we alſo count the moſt religious. According to this model, the Chriſtian Worſhip does not conſiſt (it ſeems) in ſtately Edifices, ſumptuous Altars, numerous Attendants, gorgeous Habits, exquiſite Muſick, or a curiouſly contriv'd, expenſive, and ceremonious ſervice, ſupported by ample revenues and poſſeſſions. Were the Religion of MINUTIUS believ'd or obſerv'd, there had been no Diſputes about theſe or the like temporal matters; no charge of impious ſacrilege on the one hand, nor profane idolatry on the other; no reviling accuſations of ſuperſtition or fanaticiſm, of pageantry or clowniſhneſs: neither wou'd any room be left for the boaſted and affected mediums of order, decency, and reverence, between theſe two extremes. A man's behaviour, and not the cant of a party, not the particular garbs or cuſtoms of any place, but the goodneſs and ſincerity of his actions, wou'd be the real teſt of his Religion.

CHAP. III.

Of the Church, and the Diſtinctions thereof.

I. BUT the Chriſtian Religion is not the point in queſtion, 'tis the Chriſtian Church. The Church, the true Church, the pure Church, the Orthodox, the Catholick Church, are in every body's mouth; and therefore one wou'd think they muſt needs very well underſtand what they mean by the Church: tho', in reality, they have no fix'd idea to this word, nor any ſignification in which they all agree; and that particular notion, to which they are moſt inclin'd, I mean of a form'd Society with proper rites, officers, laws, and government, does no where occur in the New Teſtament, and is both unreaſonable and impoſſible in it ſelf. The original word, which we tranſlate Church, is *Eccleſia*, and denotes in the Greek laws and writers, any Aſſembly of men call'd together, as by a publick cryer, to hear an oration; anſwerable to the Latin word *Concio* for the ſame thing, from *concieo*, to ſummon or bring together. And hence it came to ſignify numbers of men, that aſſemble of themſelves at known and ſtated times, ſuch as the meetings of towns and corporations, as the *Eccleſiæ* of Athens, of Lacedemon, and other Republicks.

II. ECCLESIA therefore in it ſelf is but any publick Aſſembly in general, whether about civil, or religious, or other affairs whatſoever; and whoſe rules are either none, or few, or many, or various, according to the nature of the things to be debated, or the different cuſtoms of ſeveral times and places. Thus it is generally us'd in the New Teſtament. But accuracy of Language not being the buſineſs of the penmen of that volume, *Eccleſia* does likewiſe occur there (11) for a tumultuous rabble got together by chance, without any warrant from authority, nor knowing why they came themſelves. And in the ſame place, that is, in the nineteenth Chapter (12) of the Acts of the Apoſtles, a lawful Aſſembly, or *Eccleſia*, is oppos'd to it. The Chriſtians therefore call'd their own Aſſemblies for worſhip or inſtruction by this name, not for any peculiar worth or energy, but becauſe it was then the common word for Aſſemblies or Congregations. It really ſignifies the ſame thing with the Jewiſh Synagogue, which is a ſynonymous term: but the firſt Chriſtians being reputed a Sect of the

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(11) *Act.* xix. 32.
(12) *V.* 39.

the Jews, they rather choſe to borrow the Language of the Heathens, leſt they ſhould be thought to ſymbolize with the former, or ſtill to continue ſuch. Thus Meetings are now oppos'd to Churches in England, which, after all, are but two words for the ſame thing; namely, a place of aſſembling on a religious account. Yet the firſt Chriſtians were not ſo ſuperſtitiouſly nice in the diſtinction of words, as their modern followers: for the Apoſtle JAMES calls (13) the meeting of Chriſtians a *Synagogue*, tho' the wary Tranſlators have render'd it Aſſembly; and the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews expreſſes (14) the aſſembling of Chriſtians by the word *Synagogein*.

III. IN ſhort, any Meeting or Society of Chriſtians is promiſcuouſly call'd *Ecclesia* in the New Teſtament, let them come together about any buſineſs whatſoever. Thus it is put for thoſe in the ſame family, as the Church (15) in the houſe of PRISCILLA and AQUILA, that (16) in the houſe of NYMPHAS, and that (17) in the houſe of PHILEMON. So it occurs for the Chriſtian Meetings of particular cities, and for the Chriſtians of whole nations and provinces; as *the Churches*, that is, the Chriſtians of Rome, Corinth, Laodicea, *the Churches* (18) of Aſia, the *Churches* of the Gentiles, and the like, which are expreſſions frequently us'd in PAUL's Epiſtles. From the proper ſignification of a Meeting at a certain time and place, the firſt Chriſtians made *Eccleſia* likewiſe to ſignify all thoſe of their perſuaſion, wherever diſpers'd in the world, as being united in their minds or Religion; but without any reſpect to the gathering together of their bodies into any definite place, or under any certain rules and oeconomy: as PAUL exhorts the Epheſian Husbands (19) to love their Wives, *as* CHRIST *loves his Church*; and in ſuch other general paſſages where it ſignifies all Chriſtians, both they who teach, and they who are taught. In other paſſages it ſignifies the People as diſtinct from their inſtructors: ſo PAUL in the Acts of the Apoſtles exhorts (20) the Elders of Epheſus *to feed the Church*; and in his firſt Epiſtle to TIMOTHY, ſpeaking of the qualifications of an Elder, he ſays, (21) that *if he knows not how to rule his own Houſe, he cannot take care of the Church of God.*

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(13) *Ch.* ii. 2.
(14) *Ch.* x. 25.
(15) *Rom.* xvi. 3, 5.
(16) *Col.* iv. 15.
(17) *Philem.* 2.

IV. BUT for the Paſtors to ſignify the Church as diſtinct from the People, there's no ſhadow for ſuch a meaning of the word in the whole New Teſtament. The only place al-

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(18) 1 *Cor.* xvi. 4. *Rom.* xvi. 19.
(19) *Eph.* v. 25.
(20) *Chap.* xx. 28.
(21) *Ch.* iii. 5.

ledg'd to this purpoſe, is the celebrated *Dic Eccleſiæ* in MATTHEW'S Goſpel, (22) where CHRIST directs, that if any man has a controverſy with his brother, and that the other will neither make it up by an amicable compoſition, nor yet by the conviction of witneſſes, then he's to tell the matter to the Church; *but if he neglects to hear the Church,* ſays CHRIST, *let him be to thee as a Heathen and a Publican.* Here it is moſt obvious to all diſintereſted lovers of truth, that this paſſage concerns a civil injury, where, the offending brother refuſing to give private ſatisfaction, the difference was to be compounded by the Congregation, to whom the offended brother was to refer it; which CHRIST moſt wiſely order'd 'em to do, to ſave both the expences and further enmity of a law-ſuit. And truly if the Clergy wou'd claim any thing from hence, it muſt be the utter diſcharging of other Judges, and the bringing of all civil cauſes under their own cognizance and juriſdiction. Now that I have given the true ſignification of this paſſage, I deſire theſe three Queſtions to be conſider'd: Why the Clergy ſhou'd be meant here, when no other text does favour ſuch an interpretation, and that *Eccleſia* is ſo often put for the Laity, as Chriſtians are corruptly diſtinguiſh'd? Whether any ordinary and external Tribunal of Chriſtian Biſhops, or other Churchmen, can be prov'd to have exiſted then in the world? And why *tell it to the Church* ſhou'd not be here underſtood of the whole Congregation, as well as PAUL means the whole Congregation, when, in the firſt Epiſtle to TIMOTHY, (23) he ſays, *Againſt an Elder receive not an accuſation, but before two or three witneſſes: them that ſin rebuke before all, that others may alſo fear?* The places are exactly parallel, and need no further explication.

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(22) *Ch.* xviii. 17.

V. FROM all this it clearly follows, that thoſe who receive the Doctrine of CHRIST are Chriſtians, that their aſſemblies are Churches; and if they will call their perſuaſion or fellow-believers the Church, or by a common figure give that name to the Houſe or Place of their meeting (as we ſay the Chancery, the Court, the Exchange) there is no harm in all this, provided that in their ſpeech and writing they carefully diſtinguiſh thoſe ſignifications; and that they let us always know which of them they mean, that there may be no equivocation or confuſion. But the abuſe of this word has occaſion'd a world of extravagant notions and diſtinctions, neither warranted by Scripture nor Reaſon. The Clergy call themſelves the Church, by which they mean a certain body, polity, or government; and tho' you ſhou'd never ſo ſtrictly conform your ſelf to the Doctrine of CHRIST, yet

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(23) *Ch.* v. 19, 20.

yet if you oppoſe the Clergy, you are ſaid to oppoſe the Church, which makes their blind admirers imagine that you oppoſe Chriſtianity. The Diſcipline and Ceremonies of a particular Sect are often call'd the Church; and if you neglect or diſlike theſe, you are ſtrait made an enemy to Religion; for which you may be ſure to ſuffer in your perſon or reputation, and generally in both. Sometimes a favourite-doctrine, as Paſſive Obedience to the arbitrary will of Princes, the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy or Presbytery, the Immerſion of adult perſons in Baptiſm, or ſome other particular opinion, is made the principal Diſtinction of a Church. Then a Doubt is propos'd, Whether by the Church be meant an aſſembly of Men and Angels? Whether the Patriarchs and holy men of the Old Teſtament, were not a part of CHRIST's Church? Whether Children be real members of the Church, and how? Whether the whole Church can ever err, or totally periſh? And whether the Paſtors and the Sheep be not in a certain ſenſe two Churches, whereof the firſt is the repreſentative of the laſt? But I have already remov'd the imaginary foundation of this repreſentative Church of the Clergy, and under the next head of *Synods and Councils*, I ſhall demonſtrate that there can be no ſuch Repreſentation; where I ſhall likewiſe examine the diſtinction of particular Churches and the univerſal.

VI. NEXT the Church is divided into viſible and inviſible, which, if it be meant of a real and ſeeming perſuaſion, quadrates as well to all other Opinions or Societies, where the external profeſſion is more diffuſive than the internal ſincerity: and if it be meant of the publick exerciſe of Religion, in oppoſition to a time when none in the world does or dares openly acknowledge it, then it's poſſible that at ſuch a time there may be no perſon of that Religion; or there's a plain demonſtration, that this Religion is not a Society conſiſting of members under ſuch a Government as they commonly call the Church. Another diſtinction of the Church is into militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven, to which the Romaniſts add the laborant in purgatory. And truly this laſt may be found as ſoon in the New Teſtament, as the repreſentative Church of the Clergy, which may very properly be call'd militant, conſidering the fines, impriſonments, baniſhments, executions, ravages, devaſtations, wars and maſſacres it has ſo frequently occaſion'd; and ſtill continues to practiſe wherever it has the power, for it ſeldom wants the will. But 'tis by a wonderful figure of ſpeech that the Martyrs are ſtil'd the triumphant Church, for being worſted by their enemies; and 'tis by a modeſty no leſs ſingular, that others decline thoſe triumphs till they cannot help it.

VII. THE Catholick Church is an unſcriptural expreſſion, and ſignifies all Chriſtians, or nothing. It cannot mean any particular ſet of Opinions, for there is none wherein all Chriſtians are agreed; much leſs do they all ſubmit to any one kind of Government, tho' the Pope has fairly aim'd at a univerſal Monarchy under this Catholick pretence. And to ſay, that it denotes the Orthodox believers, is neither grammar nor ſenſe: for, in the firſt place, there may be errors ſpread over all Chriſtian Societies; and then among that great variety of Churches, which manifeſtly differ in diſcipline, rites, and doctrine, every one of them is Orthodox to it ſelf. So that if Catholick ſignifies Orthodox, God knows how many Catholick Churches we ſhall have. At leaſt, if there be but one, it will be the true labour in vain to find it among ſo many pretenders, if you take their own words for it; and let them e'en decide it as they pleaſe, for names and titles are but empty things in compariſon of truth. Tho' the real notion of the Church be thus looſe and unfix'd among the admirers of it, as you'll better perceive in the following Chapter: yet they talk of nothing more commonly or poſitively than the extraordinary Prerogatives of the Catholick Church; by which they do not mean (or in the plaineſt caſe they ſpeak very myſteriouſly) the Privileges of individual Chriſtians, but the fancy'd excellencies of an abſtracted, and therefore an imaginary idea made up of no particular ideas; like all thoſe charms, graces, and beauties, which the valiant DON QUIXOT ador'd in his belov'd DULCINEA, tho' he never ſet eyes upon her; and that indeed there was no ſuch creature in being out of his own giddy brain.

CHAP. IV.

Of Synods and Councils.

I. THO' the vulgar notion of a Church does no where appear in the New Teſtament, yet ſo early are people accuſtom'd to fix that idea to the word, that, whenever they read there of particular Churches (as when PAUL, in (24) the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, mentions *the Churches of God*, the diviſions (25) in the Church of Corinth, and ſays, in (26) another place, that *the care of all the Churches* lies on his ſhoulders) they do not ſimply conceive the Societies of Chriſtians in thoſe places united in the ſame perſuaſion, but likewiſe as under a particular form and diſcipline of divine and unalterable Inſtitution; as now the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, or the Lutheran Churches, are conſider'd by their ſeveral profeſſors. On the other hand, when they meet with the word Church intended in a general ſenſe of all Chriſtians, becauſe they agree in the ſame Faith, as, in his firſt Epiſtle to TIMOTHY, PAUL ſays, That (27) *the Church of the living God is the pillar and ground of the truth*; then they imagine I know not, and indeed they know not, what univerſal Church, to whoſe Deciſions all the particular Churches are to ſtand, by the power whereof they are to be govern'd, and in which they are all united, and made members of the ſame Society.

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(24) *Ch.* xi. 16.
(25) 1 *Cor.* xi. 18.
(26) 2 *Cor.* xi. 28.

II. BUT I have already ſhewn that the word *Eccleſia* ſignifies no repreſentative Church of the Clergy. I deny not but that in certain diſtricts, as pariſhes, towns, provinces, and a whole nation, a ſelect number of perſons may meet by authority in a Chriſtian Government; or by voluntary confederation in other countries, to agree upon the circumſtances of time and place in their worſhip, or any other thing relating to their well-being and convenience. On ſuch an occaſion, when a numerous Society cannot without confuſion meet together in one place, the light of nature has taught 'em to devolve the care of their tranſactions on a ſufficient number, to whom they commit a fiduciary power, and of which their Paſtors may or may not be, ſo as *all things be perform'd decently and*

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(27) *Ch.*iii. 15.

and in good Order, as PAUL directs in the firſt Epiſtle (28) to the Corinthians. Matters of this nature (as what habits of diſtinction any ſhall wear among 'em, what faſts they ſhall appoint, what feſtivals they ſhall obſerve, or what other regulations they ſhall think neceſſary) may be alter'd or aboliſh'd as urgent cauſes ſhall appear; and they can oblige no other perſons or aſſemblies in the world, further than as the wiſdom of the thing may induce 'em to follow a good example.

III. BUT as to points of Doctrine and perſuaſion, decreeing Articles of Faith, or determining Controverſies about ſuch (which is the proper buſineſs of the Churches in queſtion) no body can be another's repreſentative or believe for him, no more than be ſav'd or damn'd for him; every perſon being to ſtand or fall by his own conviction, having his proper judgment of diſcretion to determine for himſelf according to the light of his conſcience. This is the voice of CHRIST; this is what we are frequently told in the New Teſtament. There we are often commanded to examine the Scriptures, not by delegates, but with our own eyes. And PAUL, in his ſecond Epiſtle to TIMOTHY, aſſures us that(29)*the Scriptures are able to make us*

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(28) *Ch.* xiv. 40.
(29) *Ch.* iii. 15.

us wiſe unto ſalvation, through the faith that is in CHRIST JESUS; which is to ſay, that in the Scriptures we may learn the Faith of CHRIST, by which ſalvation is to be had.

IV. AS for them who ſit in thoſe Synods or repreſentative Churches, they muſt be ſent by the Clergy, or by the Laity, or by both. If by the Clergy, they repreſent only them; and if by the Laity only, ſo likewiſe of them. But if they be ſent by, or in the name of both, ſurely he that ſends may ſit there as well as he that is ſent: or if none are qualify'd to ſit but ſuch as are elected, they cannot determine but what their Principals approve. It wou'd be very hard and abſurd, if the ſent might exclude the ſenders. In the Aſſembly of the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem, recorded in the Acts (30) of the Apoſtles, to enquire whether their brethren of the Gentiles were oblig'd to the Obſervation of the Jewiſh Circumciſion and Ceremonies (becauſe Chriſtianity was an improvement on the Law of MOSES) and where it was determin'd to leave the Gentiles to their former liberty, yet without expreſly exempting the Jews; nay and PAUL did ſome time after (31) circumciſe TIMOTHY, tho' his father was a Gentile, to pleaſe the Jews, becauſe his mother was of their nation: I ſay, in this Aſſembly all ſorts of perſons equally debated and concluded, not only (32) *the Apoſtles and Elders*, but likewiſe *the whole Church* or Congregation; and indeed it was but delivering their opinion, to which they did not ſay that others were bound, but only wou'd do well (33) to conform.

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(30) *Ch.* xv. 15—29.
(31) *Act.* xvi. 3.

V. MOREOVER, if theſe Synods be to decide the Controverſies that may ariſe among Chriſtians, and that they ſincerely deſign to ſearch for the truth without prejudice, and to act according to impartial juſtice; then thoſe of all ſides ought to ſit there with equal freedom and power, Greeks, Armenians, Proteſtants, Papiſts, Socinians, Arians, Quakers, and all other Sects, ſince none may decide for others; and that for one Party to determine in their own favour, is to be Judges in their own caſe. But cuſtom againſt equity makes void the law. However, ſuppoſing that all Sects and perſons were freely admitted to ſeſſion and ſuffrage; yet it follows not that their final Judgment muſt be neceſſarily the truth, unleſs it be prov'd that truth muſt be neceſſarily of the ſtronger ſide; whereas it has not been leſs frequently, and (perhaps as matters go in the world) it is moſt commonly found on the weaker ſide.

VI. 'TIS but too manifeſt that moſt of the antient Synods did not weigh reaſons, but

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(32) *Act.* xv. 22.
(33) *Ibid. v.* 29.

number voices. And to ſay that we ought to preſume they always acted honeſtly, is to ſay nothing; unleſs it cou'd be prov'd that every body will always do his duty, that men will conſtantly perform what they profeſs, and execute the truſt repos'd in them without being miſled by ignorance, paſſion, intereſt, favor, or fear. Now juſt the contrary of all this appears in the antient Synods, as with very little labor may be prov'd from Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. They generally came together to try their ſtrength, and the ſmaller number ſeldom or never acquieſc'd in the Deciſions of the greater; which made the breach wider than before, exaſperated the parties, and, inſtead of healing Controverſies, they occaſion'd new hereſies, ſchiſms, libels, recriminations, tumults, and bloody murders. To gain their purpoſes of maſtery or revenge, they have ſervilely flatter'd the higher powers, who had the means not only of corrupting them by gratifying their vanity and ambition; but alſo of getting always a majority of their own creatures ſent there, and to condemn or approve what they pleas'd. Thus was the Council of Nice againſt ARIUS, and that of Ariminum for him; with a world of other examples. And really it is almoſt an argument againſt the reaſonableneſs or integrity of human nature, to obſerve the perpetual jangling, claſhing, and oppoſition of thoſe Councils, one rejecting what the other eſtabliſh'd, and others ſubſcribing to neither; whence they proceeded to anathematize and damn one another without mercy, not ſeldom for mere trifles: and according as they were favour'd at Court, putting the Emperors and other Princes on perſecutions, baniſhments, confiſcations, and proſcriptions; which inevitably produc'd a retaliation from thoſe of the other ſide, whenever they got an opportunity. Hence new Edicts, new Decrees, new Canons, new Articles of Faith; and all their reſolutions as poſitively and peremptorily ratify'd as if God himſelf had directed their proceedings, which they moſt blaſphemouſly aſſerted, conſidering their paſſions, partiality, and infinite contradictions. Their elections were unfair and moſtly ſeditious, their debates were manag'd without temper, their concluſions were form'd without reaſons; and they never anſwer'd their end, nor ever procur'd any union but by force and ſeverity. In ſo much that the Hiſtory of antient Synods is a lively repreſentation of the ignorance, pride, and corruption of the Clergy of thoſe times, from which vices the Laity were not free, and their failings were augmented by the contagious example of their guides and governors.

VII. BUT as men are always the ſame unleſs amended by free Laws and a generous Education, and that from the like cauſes the like effects will certainly follow; ſo if we conſider the canvaſt elections, fierce debates, unſeemly noiſe and rude behaviour, contradictory proteſtations, haſty and undigeſted Canons of ſome of our own Convocations, with the other Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies of Europe, we may perceive what virulence and factions reign in them, what tools they are made of by Princes and parties for and againſt one another; and how much more they ſeem concern'd for temporal Power and Dominion, for indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, or for avenging private piques, and indulging perſonal reſentments, than for the true Faith, Reformation of Manners, or univerſal Peace, Toleration, and Charity. Tho' their practice is a proof that the Holy Ghoſt does not always preſide in their meetings, yet I grant that they decree *what ſeems good to themſelves*; wherefore if I look on what they determine as their own belief, 'tis more perhaps than I am ſtrictly bound, but I ſhall never own it as the rule of my Faith. Happy, thrice happy had it been for Chriſtianity, if there never had been any Synods or Councils to impoſe their arbitrary Dictates for Articles of Religion! This made GREGORY NAZIANZEN, and our late Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, with other excellent perſons living and dead, mortally to hate ſuch Aſſemblies, and to own that no good ever came of them. A bold and ungrateful, yet a noble truth! But to conclude my deduction that Synods are not the Church, I challenge that one Synod to be inſtanc'd, whether dioceſan, provincial,

vincial, national, or œcumenical, to which all Chriſtians ſubmit, or which is in all things acknowledg'd by all parties, and which has not decreed many things held by the greateſt number of Chriſtians to be falſe and erroneous.

VIII. TAKING the Church therefore in what ſenſe you pleaſe, either for any promiſcuous Aſſembly of Chriſtians united for religious worſhip and inſtruction, or for a ſeparate body of the Clergy for teaching and governing; yet the Church is as much as ever to ſeek under the notion of a form'd Society, which is to ſerve for a ſtanding and univerſal rule. The Members, in the firſt place, of all Churches are individual perſons ſubject to prejudice, weakneſs, and error. Secondly, no particular Church has any promiſe or privilege that it ſhall not err for the future, no more than ſuch as have done ſo before. And, Thirdly, if all particular Churches may err, ſo may likewiſe the univerſal and œcumenical Councils, ſince they conſiſt only of the Delegates ſent from theſe, and differ but in number; nor does their coming together in general take away what they were in particular, but rather makes their error the greater. The variety of their own Creeds is a ſufficient Argument againſt them. Experience ſhews that they are not leſs obnoxious to corruptions of perſuaſion and practice than other aſſemblies. And they are the principal parents of all the errors in Religion, which the people without them, or without ſome of the particular Clergymen whereof they were compos'd, wou'd never have thought of or imagin'd; beſides that no general Council properly ſo call'd has ever exiſted. It is a mere chimera; not only becauſe Deputies never did nor cou'd come to repreſent all concern'd, but likewiſe becauſe all parties were never admitted.

IX. A Univerſal Church or Society, cemented by Letters of Communion, is as fantaſtical; ſince the particular Churches, whereof the Univerſal muſt conſiſt, diſagree in the moſt eſſential Articles of Faith, of Diſcipline, and Worſhip. The intereſts of civil Governments are ſo various, and places (where there may be good Chriſtians) are ſometimes ſo ſituated, as to make ſuch a correſpondence impracticable: and thouſands of private Chriſtians every where ſubmit to the authority of no particular Churches. When thoſe Letters were moſt in faſhion, there was as little union, and as great impoſitions as ever: ſo that if the Biſhops of Italy differ'd from thoſe of Africa, and both from thoſe of Aſia, and Greece; or part of the Biſhops of Italy oppos'd the Biſhop of Rome, and the Biſhop of Carthage accus'd the Biſhop of Egypt (for the like caſes not ſeldom happen'd) how cou'd any man diſcern from the Epiſcopal Character or Authority which of theſe were the true

Church? or if he was to examine the Controverſy not by dignities, places, or numbers, but by the touchſtone of Reaſon and the Bible, this is making every perſon his own judge, and granting all we deſire. Or if none of theſe expreſſions be forcible enough, I deſire to know what are the Terms of Communion on which a man is to be receiv'd in all particular Churches, as a member of the Catholick Church? Is it not undeniable in fact, that there are no fix'd terms, in agreeing to which you'll be admitted to Communion in all Chriſtian Churches? And as univerſals are made up of particulars, I wou'd likewiſe be inform'd where thoſe particular Churches are, or that one ſingle Church, with which the others are to conform as their exemplar? And if that Church can uſe any arguments to convince the reſt that it ſelf is the true Church of CHRIST, different from ſuch arguments as any private man can ſhew that he is a true Chriſtian (whether he lives in a Chriſtian Society, or with his Bible in a wilderneſs) I wou'd be glad to find 'em ſpecify'd? Thus the diſpute wou'd ſoon be ended. But if this cannot be done, I ſee not the uſe or neceſſity of ſuch a Church.

X. AS for one man to be the infallible judge of Controverſies, it is not only experimentally repugnant to human nature, and plainly unwarranted from Scripture; but that very Church which maintains this ſtrange paradox has not determin'd whether the Pope be above a General Council or ſubject to it, that is, which of them is the Church; whether they are both together the ſupreme Authority, or whether he can only utter oracles when he ſits on his tripod; and this ſame chair, no leſs wonderful than the cap of FORTUNATUS, is to this day a Controverſy undecided, what it is, or where. Nor is it conceivable to any that conſiders his own words, how a man that can err by himſelf, and a Council that can err by it ſelf, ſhou'd both in conjunction become infallible. Or if reaſon were not to judge in the caſe, yet the numberleſs oppoſitions of Councils in the moſt fundamental points of Chriſtianity, and the no fewer reverſions of Papal Decrees by their ſucceſſors, not to inſiſt on the dubious titles and mutual excommunications of the Antipopes which divided Chriſtendom, is an unanſwerable demonſtration againſt their pretences.

XI. LASTLY, be the Church which of all theſe you will, it cannot poſſibly be a ſtanding Rule, ſince none of them is in conſtant being, and ſome of 'em wanting to the world for many ſcore years: ſo that no controverſy can be decided in the interval of the deaths of Popes, or the ſittings of Councils, or during the intermitted correſpondence of Biſhops; there's no recourſe to be had for reſolutions of doubts to any tribunal of univerſal Authority. Thouſands therefore of private Chriſtians may die in their ſcruples or in their errors; nay whole ſocieties may be deſtroy'd before they can have the means of deciſion. Nor has any perſon a right all that while to pronounce another to be a Heretick, Schiſmatick, or Apoſtate, if he's to depend on ſuch an external authority, and not on the ſacred Scriptures alone, interpreted by his own Reaſon and Judgment. I conclude then, that people ſpeak very uncorrectly, or rather know not their own meaning, but precipitantly follow an habitual form of ſpeech, when they ſay that ſuch or ſuch a thing is the determination of the Church, and that they ſubmit to the Authority of the Church in all ages: phraſes I have ſometimes heard in the mouths of the Engliſh Diſſenters, generally from thoſe of the eſtabliſh'd Church, and always from Papiſts.

CHAP. V.

Of the Marks of the True Church.

I. THE Chriſtian Religion, and figuratively the ſincere Profeſſors of it wherever diſperſt, but no form'd Society aſſuming to it ſelf the name of the Church, I grant to be (34) *the pillar and ſupport of the Truth*;

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(34) 1 *Tim.* iii. 15.

Truth; and I think I have alſo briefly made out, that there is no ſuch Church or ſociety in the world, to be deduc'd from the word *Eccleſia*, nor from Synods, Councils, Popes, or Epiſcopal Letters of Communion. Or if ſuch a Church or ſociety there were, I preſume that none will be ſo unreaſonable as to deny that it has certain Marks, whereby it may be known and diſtinguiſh'd from falſe or corrupt Churches, and from thoſe that are Heretical or Schiſmatical, to ſpeak in their own conſecrated language. Without theſe it wou'd be perfectly the ſame thing, whether there was any ſuch Church or not; and of this the ſticklers for a political aſſociated Church are ſo ſenſible, that Marks of one kind or another they have all aſſign'd. I ſhall examine them in order, omitting none that ever came to my knowledge: for if I miſs the right Church, it is not for want of learning her peculiar properties, which ſo many pretend to teach. But in general this muſt be agreed, that the Marks ought to be better and eaſier known than the object they diſtinguiſh, and likewiſe be different from it in the whole or in part; elſe they can be no right tokens, nor poſſibly ſerve to ſhew the difference of one thing from another.

II. NOW the ſigns which the bulk of Proteſtants aſcribe to the true Church, are the preaching of pure Doctrine, the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and exact

Diſcipline. I hope this is only a diſpute of words, proceeding from want of accuracy in ſome of the firſt Reformers, who being in their old Syſtems accuſtom'd to treat apart of the Marks of the Church, wou'd needs make a diſtinct head of it in their new Theology: for their Marks are ſo far from being ſuch, that they are the very things to be known, the eſſential points in debate; ſince the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Diſcipline of all parties are to themſelves the beſt; and the Queſtion is, by what ſure Marks we ſhall know which are ſo in reality, and not merely in opinion. Beſides, that there may be a true Church, that is a number of good Chriſtians, where there is no preaching, nor any Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. PAUL affirms, that(35) *the Scriptures are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation, thro' the faith that is in* JESUS CHRIST; not to ſpeak of the firſt Proteſtants, nor of the primitive Chriſtians under perſecution, who had none other in the world with whom they wou'd communicate; or, if there were, and it be ſaid that they communicated with them *in voto* (as the phraſe is) it ſignifies no more than that they wiſh'd to be in good company, and free from their preſent dangers or troubles.

III. FOR what is it, pray, to us here in England, who they be that are of the true Church in other parts of the world? I do not mean in a political ſenſe, as nations may be to one another mutual ſupports of liberty againſt tyranny and ſuperſtition; nor as we ought to tender the good and welfare of all mankind, as our brethren and the fellow citizens of this terraqueous globe; but I ſpeak to the merits of the cauſe: for we are never the worſe Chriſtians if they ſhou'd not be good, and if they be, we are not for that ever the better. 'Tis not the teſtimony, correſpondence, equality, or ſuperiority of others that can make us more to be Chriſtians, than to be innocent or virtuous men, which we may actually be, and perfectly know it our ſelves, nay and are indiſpenſably oblig'd to continue ſuch, tho' all the world ſhou'd conſpire together to maintain the contrary. After the ſame manner, if we are perſuaded of the Doctrines of CHRIST, and are conſcious to our ſelves, that we ſubmit to his laws, fulfilling his will, and taking his Goſpel for our Rule, we may be fully aſſur'd that we are good Chriſtians; and therefore Members of the Church of God, whoſe true Union conſiſts in theſe things, and in having CHRIST for its head and author: but not in any form of external polity, which may be juſtly alter'd according to the exigency of time and circumſtances; nor in the ſucceſſion of perſons, rites or offices, theſe being things with which the maintenance of truth has no relation or neceſſary connection, and which (according to the ceaſleſs viciſſitudes of human affairs) are impoſſible to be always preſerv'd the ſame.

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(35) 2 *Tim.* iii. 15.

IV. THE Romaniſts give us more Marks, but not more certainty. However I ſhall diſcuſs 'em all, becauſe as I write in favour of no particular Party, no more do I oppoſe any one as ſuch. In the firſt place, Catholicity is no mark, ſince I have prov'd already that there is no ſuch Catholick Church in their ſenſe, and that it is evidently begging the queſtion to make it a mark, if there were. A Catholick Society is nonſenſe, and Roman Catholick a contradiction. Secondly, Antiquity is no mark, ſince the Church muſt have been without it at the beginning; nor does it follow that the Doctrines never vary, tho' moſt of the names ſhou'd continue ſtill the ſame. Yet this is the ſtale and common cant of all Sects, as if Religion, like wood or wine, was ever the better for being old. The Papiſts do not only make this objection to the Proteſtants, but ſome of the latter are as apt as any to declaim moſt tragically againſt all changes or innovations; and the Heathens often alledg'd the venerable wrinkles of their Religion, how many nations, cities, and moſt flouriſhing empires, had for a long ſeries of time profeſs'd it with great ſucceſs, proſperity, and happineſs: *If Antiquity*, ſays SYMMACHUS to a Chriſtian (36) Emperor, *can add any Authority to Religions, we muſt adhere*

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(36) *Orat. pro Ara Victor.*

here to the faith of ſo many ages, and herein imitate our fathers, who happily follow'd theirs. Thirdly, for the like reaſons, Duration is no mark; beſides, that the names and doctrines may not only frequently change (as they have done in effect, or there had been no diſputes about them) but that ſeveral of 'em may quite decay and periſh, as other inſtitutions have done in courſe of time, which had perſiſted longer in the world than the Roman or any other Chriſtian Church. Fourthly, a Promiſe of never failing is no mark; ſince it's in diſpute to what Church that Promiſe was made, if ever it was to any, unleſs the word Church be rightly transfer'd from a Sacerdotal Society to the true Religion of CHRIST. Fifthly, The Multitude of Profeſſors is no mark, becauſe the Church wanted it at the beginning; and that the profeſſors of other Religions may be, and often are, much more numerous: but tho' the purity of Religion depends not upon it, yet the authority and profit of the Church, I mean of the Clergy, is greatly concern'd in the multitudes that own them as their guides.

V. SIXTHLY, A Succeſſion of Biſhops is no mark, for it is not the Succeſſion of perſons, but the truth of the Doctrine that is to be known; beſides that the Greek and Armenian Prelates pretend to retain their ſucceſſion, no leſs than the Jews. Yet ſuppoſing it ſignify'd any thing, there's no uncontroverted Succeſſion in the world, the beginnings being manifeſtly fabulous, diverſe and long interruptions happening afterwards, dubious and undecided titles not ſeldom advanc'd, nor the perſons agreeing either in Doctrine or Diſcipline with thoſe that went before them. Nevertheleſs ſome who pretend to be Proteſtants, are ſo fond of this Succeſſion, that they ſeem to make it the ſole mark of their Chriſtianity; for they allow no Chriſtianity that's good or ſound to ſuch as are without it: and what's yet more abſurd, they object as great Corruptions to thoſe of whom they had it; thus making Epiſcopacy a real Charm, the very enchanted Caſtle that preſerves the Lady Religion ſafe, when violated, loſt, or perſecuted every where beſides. But more of this in other places of the ſequel. Seventhly, Agreement with the primitive Church is no mark; for if this be meant of the Apoſtles and their time, 'tis ſtill the thing in queſtion: and if it be meant of the following times, the primitive Chriſtians differ'd among themſelves as much or more than we do; nor among the numberleſs Churches, Altars, Sects, and Hereſies, which they oppos'd to each other, is there one with which the Roman or any other preſent Church agrees. Eighthly, Union among themſelves is no more a mark of truth than of error, and their adverſaries are united as much as they; that is, all of them are ſplit into infinite parties and ſubdiviſions, each pretending to be more perfect than the reſt: no inſtitution that ever was, being rent into more Sects than Chriſtianity, nor any of thoſe Sects having a greater variety of opinions and practices, of corrections and additions, than the Romaniſts; notwithſtanding the exquiſite policy of their Hierarchy, which was likewiſe ſeveral ages, by various degrees and alterations, arriving to that perfection. Ninthly, Sanctity of Doctrine is begging the queſtion, and the thing that requires to be known. So is, Tenthly, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, which wants a mark inſtead of being one.

VI. ELEVENTHLY, the Lives of the Authors; Twelfthly, Miracles; Thirteenthly, Martyrs; and Fourteenthly, Prophecies are no marks: becauſe theſe things are harder to be known themſelves from counterfeits, than what they are ſaid to mark; and that all Religions and parties glory in a large Catalogue of Saints, Miracles, Martyrs, and Prophets, each maintaining theirs to be the only true ones, and all others to be falſe or fabulous, magical or deluſory. Fifteenthly, the Confeſſion of Adverſaries is no mark, ſince they are not adverſaries but a party if they come over to the Church; and if they continue adverſaries ſtill, their confeſſion ought to go for nothing, who are ſo unſincere as to act againſt their own conviction and ſalvation. But in good earneſt, what ſignifies the denial or confeſſion of any one to truth? At this rate the truth of Chriſtianity it ſelf muſt yield to the obſtinacy of its adverſaries. Nor is, Sixteenthly, the ill Fortune of Adverſaries a better mark; ſince this may be retorted on all Churches, nay on the primitive Martyrs, which affects the very Chriſtian Religion: and the ſucceſs of adverſaries is often greater than their misfortunes, witneſs againſt the Romaniſts, LUTHER, CALVIN, the Governments of Japan, Sweden, and other places where none is permitted to profeſs the Roman Church; on the other ſide, the Duke of Alva, the Inquiſition, with ſo many Popes, Kings, Princes, and other perſons and places which thrive very well, tho' they perſecute Proteſtants with exile, fines, and priſons, with halters, fire, and ſword. And indeed the ſuffering of another may well ſerve for a witneſs of his own perſuaſion, but is no argument of conviction or rejection to me, ſince it makes equally for and againſt every thing. Seventeenthly, and laſtly, the Felicity of Profeſſors is fartheſt of any from being a mark; for it excludes CHRIST from being the Head of his Church, it poſitively unchurches the poor Fiſhermen, the primitive Martyrs, and all Chriſtians almoſt for two or three hundred years; not to mention the perſecuted, calamitous, and afflicted ever ſince, who yet are ſupported under their miſeries by finding themſelves ſtil'd *bleſs'd* when they ſuffer, and having a promiſe annex'd, that *of ſuch* *is the Kingdom of Heaven.* But this, I grant, is the principal mark at which the Church aims; for the ſake of this the external Policy was made to ſignify the Church; thus the Church came by her riches and power; for theſe her ſons will brawl, clamor, and perſecute, burn, and damn without mercy: theſe they wou'd monopolize to themſelves, and exclude as many from being ſharers as they can; tho' it muſt be own'd that no other Church has ſo many means and methods, ſo many dignities and preferments to make its profeſſors happy as the Roman.

VII. HAVING thus gone carefully over all the Marks both of the Proteſtants and the Papiſts, we are ſo far from finding out the true Church, that we have yet ſeen no reaſons to believe there's any ſuch thing, meaning it always of an aſſociated Body Politick in the ſenſe of the Clergy: for if the word had been every where, as it is ſometimes, tranſlated Meeting, Aſſembly, Congregation, or the like, it had not become ſuch a riddle, nor been the ſubject of ſo many and ſo intricate Diſputes. But the plaineſt things in the world will be quickly perplex'd, by ſuch as are like to get any power, or honor, or profit for ſo doing; and the only reaſon why the Axioms of Geometers are not conteſted, is, becauſe on theſe ſubjects it is neither dangerous nor unreputable to hold the truth, nor gainful or honourable to maintain the contrary. Where it is otherwiſe, things as plain as any in the Mathematicks are deny'd, even the teſtimony of our very ſenſes; as that what has the colour, and taſt, and ſmell of bread, and is no bigger than a ſhilling, is perfect fleſh and blood, nay an entire man, with the monſtrous conſequences of that Doctrine.

CHAP. VI.

Of Ordination, and the various Orders of Prieſts.

I. IN the Argument of this Writing (37) I deny'd that there was inſtituted in the Church a peculiar Order of Prieſts (tho' Chriſtian Prieſts I do allow) no Prieſts, I ſay, whoſe office it is to inſtruct the people alone, and ſucceſſively to appoint thoſe of their own function, whether by the hand of one preſiding Biſhop, or of ſeveral equal Presbyters. I proceed now to the proof of this Aſſertion. But here I expect to be told by ſome people, that I may reaſon as long and as plauſibly as I pleaſe, without ever gaining their aſſent, tho' they ſhould not be able to anſwer me in form; becauſe that for the ſucceſſive Ordination of Prieſts, which conſtitute the Church Repreſentative they find expreſs

(37) No. II.

expreſs paſſages in the New Teſtament. If it proves to be really as they pretend, I cannot blame them, and I wou'd do as much my ſelf; tho', by the way, this method of arguing from bare ſounds and ſeparate texts, is extremely fallacious, and may ſerve as well to prove the contrary as the contents of any writing. Attention muſt therefore be given to the ſcope of the Author and the thread of his diſcourſe, which muſt always be reaſonably interpreted according to this view, together with a diligent conſideration of his particular expreſſions, which muſt not be underſtood as they ſtand by themſelves, but as they agree with the whole. How cou'd we prefer the New Teſtament to the Alcoran, or believe that the one is true and the other falſe, if we did not after the ſtricteſt examination perceive the contents of the firſt to be highly reaſonable, uſeful, conſiſtent, and agreeable to the natural notions of God; whereas the latter is full of abſurdities, contradictions, ambiguities, and impoſtures, which may well become a deſigning and wicked man (as many ſuch Inſtitutions have by the like means long and often obtain'd in the world) but cou'd never have an honeſt or a good Author, and leaſt of all a divine original? But certain things cannot poſſibly be defended, if the diſcuſſion of Reaſon be admitted. Wherefore ſuch as have an intereſt to maintain them, will be ſure to exclude Reaſon from being a judge, and betake themſelves for refuge to Authority, which is indeed to make uſe of force, and to reduce all at laſt to implicit obedience. If the holy Scripture be the Authority they chuſe, and that their Adverſaries accept of the conditions, as being perſuaded that the Writings of the Apoſtles are the moſt reaſonable Books in the world; then they artfully cull out certain words and phraſes, which taken alone wou'd ſeem to countenance their opinions, when moſt commonly the context is againſt them: yet they have ſuch paſſages always in their mouths, and ſo they eaſily impoſe on ſuch as may truly reverence the Scriptures, but who will not be at the pains to ſearch, to try, and examine them, as thoſe divine oracles themſelves direct.

II. THUS they were hard put to it, who firſt alledg'd in defence of Clerical Ordination theſe words of CHRIST in the Goſpel (38) of JOHN: *He that enters not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbs up ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber.* Moſt Sects and parties agree in their explanation of this place, as if it related to the due manner of admitting or authorizing Christian Prieſts, Miniſters, or Paſtors; for I ſhall not diſpute about the propriety of the words, when their meaning is fix'd. But there's odd charging, and mutual imputations, each making

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(38) *Ch.* x. 1.

ing thieves of moſt of the reſt: and for any juſtification to be expected from this text, they may be all alike guilty; for it properly relates to the Perſon of CHRIST as the true MESSIAS, in oppoſition to all thoſe who pretended to be ſuch before him, if his own explication of this Parable may be prefer'd to that of the Clergy. And as he tells us that he himſelf (39) *is the Door* to the Sheepfold, ſo he has ſaid nothing of opening it to Prieſts of any ſort in particular; but *by me*, ſays he, (40) *if any man enter he ſhall be ſav'd, and ſhall go in and out, and find paſture.* By the Fold he ſignify'd the Jews; but lower (41) he ſays, *Other ſheep I have which are not of this Fold,* (meaning the Gentiles) *them alſo I muſt bring; and they ſhall hear my voice, and there ſhall be one fold and one ſhepherd.* The Clergy being ordinarily call'd the Paſtors, and the People their Flocks, it was an eaſy thing for them to gloze this Parable to their own purpoſe, and to make ſimple perſons believe that they had the Door of the Church, and conſequently the Keys of Heaven in their keeping; ſo that none cou'd enter either place, but by their means, without being guilty of burglary, nor purchaſe a little Chriſtianity from the Bible without being introduc'd by a maſter of the ceremonies, and obtaining a licence from this ſpiritual corporation.

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(39) *V.* 7.

(40) *V.* 9.

(41) *V.* 16.

III. THO' the place therefore regards the Evangelical Diſpenſation, yet as the metaphors of Sheep and Shepherds are natural enough, and juſtify'd in Scripture of the People and their Teachers, let us by way of accommodation (which yet is granting too much) underſtand this Parable of the Clergy; and even then it can only relate to the diſpoſitions that move a teacher to take that function upon him, but by no means to the way whereby he's call'd or admitted into his office. CHRIST himſelf being here call'd the Door, he ſays, (42) that *whoever enters by him*, that is, according to his deſign, *will* (as he did) *go in and out before the ſheep*, provide them ſhelter and paſture, and if it be neceſſary, (43) *will give his life for them.* But he that breaks in any other way, that is, for other ends, as inriching or dignifying himſelf, does (44) *ſteal, kill and deſtroy: he that is a hireling flys, when he perceives the wolf a coming, becauſe he is a hireling, and cares not for the ſheep*; for they are not the ſheep, but his wages that he loves, as the falſe deliverers, the hypocritical Scribes and Phariſees, and the ſuperſtitious domineering Prieſts did before our Saviour. And he that is not a

Hireling

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(42) *V.* 9.
(43) *V.* 11.
(44) *V.* 10, 13.

Hireling indeed, or, as bad, his ſlave, will grant that the Ordination in queſtion can derive no Authority from this place. They are more concern'd to underſtand it, who purchaſe ſuch offices by means no leſs indirect, than their purpoſes are criminal; and who, uncall'd or unqualify'd, thruſt themſelves into a buſineſs of ſo great importance, both in the deſign and execution of it; who (as in moſt other preferments are wont to be done) make their court to great men, appear at their levees, flatter ſuch as can befriend them, enter into private obligations with the patrons, and gain ſome others by preſents, which is to corrupt them with bribes. Let them apply this place to themſelves, who to render the egregious effects of their Miniſtry more diffuſive, procure as many and as large Flocks as they can, or to be tranſlated from ſuch as are thin, and lean, and naked (and therefore want moſt care) to the numerous, fat, and fleecy, which leaſt need their help; nay who, rather than be no ſacred Shepherds, will diſpenſe with the inſpection of any flock, or living among their ſheep, leaving them always the paſtoral name and crook (whereof they ſeem mighty fond) and duly paying the ſalary, which, tho' deſerving nothing for their pains, they gladly receive, as a reward (I ſuppoſe) of their good intentions, for we ſeldom ſee any worthy fruits of their leiſure. Let ſuch, if they pleaſe, found their practices on that text; unleſs they think it more convenient to quit their right to the Ordainers, on condition that they admit none into the Sheepfold but men of their ſtamp and complexion; and then they are ſure not to be told of their faults, which is a tender point, and what they cannot bear.

IV. ANOTHER Paſſage produced for the Ordination of Prieſts by Prieſts (whether of their own or another degree) is in PAUL'S (45) Epiſtle to the Romans, viz. *How ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* We grant that none may be a publick Teacher, no more than bear any other publick Office or Magiſtracy, who is not duly call'd to his poſt, and impower'd to execute it, according as the laws and cuſtoms preſcribe in the place where he lives. But this text has no relation in the world to the matter, tho' all ſorts of Clergymen (at leaſt the bulk of them) underſtand it of Ordination: for it is not ſpoken of the ordinary preaching of any doctrine, much leſs of the manner of authorizing any to do ſo; but it concerns the firſt promulgation of certain matters of fact, as the aboliſhing of the Moſaick Law, and the ſucceeding of the Goſpel in its room. The Apoſtle repeats an objection of the Jews againſt their being condemn'd for not believing in CHRIST, whoſe diſpenſation no body cou'd diſcover without ſome extraordinary Revelation, with-

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(45) *Ch.* x, 15.

out expreſs notice from himſelf, or from ſuch as had ſeen and heard him. This, tho' PAUL affirms the contrary, they deny to be their caſe in the following words: (46) *How ſhall they call on him, in whom they have not believ'd? And how ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher*, or one to tell it them? *And how ſhall they preach except they be ſent*, or that it be reveal'd to them? *But have they not heard*, anſwers PAUL? (47) *Yes verily; their ſound is gone over all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Did not Iſrael know*, ſays he? and then he quotes MOSES and ISAIAH as propheſying of this very matter. Now what has all this to do with Ordination? It might well be apply'd to the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, but with no appearance of reaſon to the teaching, or inculcating, or preſſing of the Chriſtian Religion at this time, where it is already receiv'd and eſtabliſh'd, and when any willing perſon in a Chriſtian Country may ſufficiently learn it from his Bible * * * *

CHAP.

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(46) *V.* 4, 15.
(47) *V.* 19, 20, 21.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Religious Teachers inſtituted by CHRIST.

I. THE Religious Teachers inſtituted by CHRIST were from their ſeveral provinces, as we have obſerv'd, call'd ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Teachers, and ſome by more of theſe names as they were at certain times differently employ'd, or according to the ſeveral dialects of the countries where they preach'd. They were ty'd to no certain place nor conſtant reſidence, having generouſly undertaken, to the utmoſt of their power, to preach and diffuſe the Chriſtian Doctrine among all the nations of the earth, and to provide effectual means for the preſervation of it whereſoever they planted it. Among other privileges peculiar to their body, they are ſometimes term'd Ambaſſadors (which is but another word for Apoſtle) becauſe they were immediately ſent by CHRIST to offer his Doctrine to the world according to the inſtructions they receiv'd from him; ſo that this appellation belongs only to them, and is moſt improperly apply'd to the preſent Teachers, many of whom are nevertheleſs very ready to aſſume the title, and are not a little proud of the ſame. We read in other Hiſtories (as well as in that of the New Teſtament) of their journeys, their ſucceſs, and their troubles, tho' mixt with many fabulous Narrations. But becauſe many pretend that TIMOTHY and TITUS were not admitted into the number of theſe extraordinary Teachers, beſides the title of Evangeliſt expreſly given the firſt, any one may in ſeveral paſſages of the New Teſtament acquaint himſelf with their labors, travels, and fellowſhip with the reſt. Concerning TIMOTHY, conſult the Acts of the Apoſtles, the Epiſtles to the Romans, Corinthians, Theſſalonians, and the Hebrews. About TITUS, ſee the Second Epiſtle to the Corinthians, with that to the Galatians; and laſtly, read the Epiſtle inſcrib'd to himſelf, where it is plain that he was left only for a while in Crete to finiſh what remain'd imperfect, and to ordain Elders in every city there, which we'll prove by and by was a charge that belong'd to the extraordinary Miniſters of Chriſtianity, when perform'd by any ſingle perſon. He went afterwards to Dalmatia; and PAUL may as well be reckon'd Biſhop of Corinth, Antioch, or Athens, becauſe he made ſome ſtay in thoſe places, as that TITUS ſhould be Biſhop of Crete. Nor can I diſcover the reaſon why TIMOTHY ſhould not have as much right to the Biſhoprick of Theſſalonica, whither he was ſent by PAUL to confirm them in the Chriſtian perſuaſion, as to that of

Epheſus where he was deſir'd by the ſame Apoſtle to tarry for ſome time, and ſee that no falſe or uſeleſs Doctrine might be taught there. It ſignifies nothing to object here that theydid not immediately receive their commiſſion from CHRIST, for ſuch were not his only extraordinary Miniſters, but likewiſe all thoſe able perſons that were willing to ſpread Chriſtianity, and whom the Apoſtles choſe for their coadjutors either to do ſo, or to travel and confirm it where it was already preach'd. Theſe were the Evangeliſts properly ſo call'd, whereof PHILIP and STEPHEN were two as well as TIMOTHY and TITUS, to whom may be added the ſeventy Diſciples: as alſo SOSTHENES, CLEMENS, BARNABAS, MARK, SILAS, and ſome others.

II. But as it was not enough thus to ſpread and ſettle their Religion in the world, where it might ſoon be corrupted or forgotten, they always declar'd it a main duty of Chriſtians to inſtruct and exhort one another. Yet leſt thro' the wickedneſs of ſome, the negligence of others, and the peculiar occupations of all, this ſhould not be ſo exactly perform'd, they did, in every place, chuſe out of their converts fit and able perſons to put people in mind of their Religion, and that as much by the example of their own lives, as by the reaſonableneſs and evidence of their Diſcourſes. Theſe ordinary Preachers of Chriſtianity were to reſide with their own flocks. They might not pretend to any new Doctrine, but were only oblig'd to publiſh and explain that already deliver'd; to the obſervation whereof they could not force any, but perſuade all they could. They were not to fine, damn, or burn; but to exhort and convince gain-ſayers. Nay, ſhould they take upon them to trouble people with fabulous wonders, Traditions, or Genealogies; with Logomachys, philoſophical Subtleties, or any thing not tending to the improvement of their underſtanding or practice, they were not to be heard or obey'd had they been Angels from Heaven. And however uſeful Miracles might be eſteem'd to gain authority or credit to the firſt publiſhers of any Doctrine, eſpecially among the Jews, yet this reaches not the ordinary Teachers: for when the queſtion do's not concern perſons, and that men are diſpos'd to receive Truth from any hand, 'tis then the pure merit of the Doctrine, conſider'd in its nature and conſequences, that is to come under examination; without any fruitleſs diſquiſitions about its age or origin, which are the entangling pretences of deſigning heads, and proofs only to the weak or ſuperſtitious.

III. In all the ancient writings, as well the ſpurious as authentic, we find theſe ordinary Miniſters of Chriſtianity, call'd for the moſt part Presbyters or Elders, and ſometimes Biſhops, which Greek word ſhould be tranſlated Overſeers. Now theſe two expreſſions are but ſeveral deſignations of the ſame perſons. The name of Elder is taken from the gravity of their years, apteſt to inculcate reverence and attention: for it was ever the policy of the beſt Governments to make action the buſineſs of the young, as they did government and counſel the province of the old. The other Denomination of Overſeer imports the inſpection committed to them over the information and conduct of the people; they being the cenſors of their manners, and the monitors of their duty. This will undeniably appear from thoſe places of the New Teſtament, where Elders and Biſhops are promiſcuouſly us'd for one another. When PAUL in his Epiſtle (48) to TITUS enumerates the neceſſary qualifications of an Elder, he ſays among other things, *If any be blameleſs,* and preſently ſubjoins, *becauſe a Biſhop muſt be blameleſs*; ſo that Elder and Biſhop here ſignify both one thing. And when the ſame Apoſtle ſent for the Elders of Epheſus to Miletus, he exhorts them (49) in theſe terms: *Take heed to your ſelves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you Overſeers. Epiſcopus,* every where beſides a Biſhop, is here tranſlated Overſeer not without a myſtery; for did they put in Biſhops, the people are not ſo ſtupid but they muſt conclude theſe two words to be ſynonymous: and according to the preſent ideas of theſe words, the paſſage wou'd ſound ridiculous, to tell the Presbyters that they were Biſhops. PETER exhorts (50) the *Elders to feed the flock of* CHRIST, *overſeeing it willingly, not by conſtraint; not for baſe lucre, but out of a ready mind; not as being Lords over God's inheritance, but as examples to the flock.* Now if the Elders were to overſee, ſurely they well might be, and for that reaſon, were ſtil'd Overſeers, that is, in terms of art, if they might biſhop the flock, they might be Biſhops of it. The qualifications and duties of Elders and Biſhops are the ſame in the Epiſtles to TIMOTHY to TITUS, and every where elſe. The ordination or appointment of both is the ſame, which muſt have been ſeparately confer'd, and different in form, were the perſons ſo in their capacities. The Apoſtles write to Biſhops and Deacons (51) at Philippi, where there cou'd not be plural Biſhops in the ſenſe of the word; and ſpeak of Biſhops, or Elders and Deacons indifferently; but not a word of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as three diſtinct orders or offices. When there aroſe a difference among the Chriſtians about the obſervation of certain legal rites, we meet with the Elders call'd to conſult with the Apoſtles

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(48) *Tit.* i. 5, 6, 7.
(49) *Act.* xx, 17—28.

(50) 1 *Pet.* v. 12.
(51) *Phil.* i. 1.

Apoſtles about that matter, and their Letters of reſolution ſent to the Chriſtians of other Countries, without any mention made of another rank of ordinary Teachers. And ſo it is all over the New Teſtament, notwithſtanding it is aſſerted by ſome, that *'tis evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apoſtles time there have been theſe three orders in Chriſt's Church, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.* About the three words in Scripture there is no diſpute; but that they ſignify there ſo many orders, I think the contrary is now made very plain.

IV. We meet with another ſet of men, not more peculiar to Chriſtians than to Jews or Heathens; I mean the Deacons, which ſhould be properly tranſlated Miniſters or Servants. They were public ſpirited (52) perſons of eminent probity (and not a particular ſet of Eccleſiaſtics) appointed to collect and diſtribute what charitable people beſtow'd upon the needy, in the faithful diſcharge of which duty they did much approve themſelves to the community. The Chriſtians then were ſo far from having hoſpitals or phyſicians at command, as by frequent perſecutions to be perpetually expos'd to all the inconveniencies of impriſonment, ſickneſs, wearineſs, hunger, and cold: and becauſe women in theſe caſes are generally more ſerviceable than men, there were pious and charitable widows (but none under ſixty) appointed for that attendance. It was likewiſe a part of the duty of theſe to inſtruct the younger ſort of their own ſex in Religion and Virtue; neither decency, nor the cuſtoms of thoſe times allowing the ordinary Teachers (who are no more exempted from certain paſſions than other men) to be familiar with them out of the publick Aſſemblies. Some will tell you that after Chriſtianity degenerated into ſuperſtition, and as a part of that corruption, religious Celibacy grew in faſhion, the Prieſts got thoſe Deaconeſſes aboliſh'd, that they might have a plauſible occaſion of entertaining the young women in private. But letting that paſs, the Deacons were principally employ'd in ſerving or miniſtring to the ſick, to the poor, and at tables in their feaſts of charity; as the Elders or Overſeers had the charge of reforming manners, and propagating virtue. It behov'd ſuch as imprint a ſpiritual character upon the Deaconſhip, and make it a neceſſary ſtep to the Prieſthood, to tranſlate the Deaconeſs PHÆBE, a Servant of the Church at Cenchrea; for otherwiſe women might claim the Prieſthood, and ſo Epiſcopacy, which would make a female Pope neither wonderful nor infrequent, conſidering the intereſt of the fair. But if the perſons were permitted to retain their original office of looking after the poor, there had been no need of ſhuffling thus with words to throw duſt in the eyes of the people, who are not aware that *Servant* is but the tranſlation of *Deaconeſs*. I gave an inſtance before of ſuch fair dealing, and, to ſpeak nothing of acknowledg'd difficulties, I have obſerv'd ſome hundreds of places in the New Teſtament and other ancient writings, not only thus cunningly, but even falſly rendred; which is to be fear'd, could not proceed from any ignorance of the tongues in ſome of the Tranſlators, but either to maintain certain opinions and cuſtoms already eſtabliſh'd, or to countenance the introduction of more. But to return to the Deacons, it is objected that PHILIP and STEPHEN preach'd; as if I had deny'd that men of parts, approving themſelves in the Diaconat, might not as well as all other Chriſtians be tranſlated to another office, as PHILIP was promoted to be an Evangeliſt. Beſides, it is the undoubted right of every perſon in diſcourſe or writing to maintain the truth, and upon proper occaſions to teach it others; tho', for avoiding confuſion, none but thoſe allow'd may do it in publick Aſſemblies.

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(52) *Act.* vi.

V. We are now to enquire by whom theſe perſons, thus ſet apart for the common good of the Society, were and ought to be appointed or ordain'd. We have ſeen before that the extraordinary Preachers of Chriſtianity did always nominate Elders, whereſoever they planted their Religion. For, to paſs by their Authority, and the care of all the Churches being upon them, none doubtleſs, better knew the abilities of their own Proſelytes. But no other particular perſons can with more right ſucceed them in this privilege, than in their power of diſcerning ſpirits. As ſoon as the Chriſtians became pretty numerous, the Elders were choſen by the votes of the People: and without theſe, the Apoſtles themſelves did nothing of common concern. MATTHIAS was elected into the Apoſtleſhip againſt the other candidate JOSEPH the Juſt by the Ballot, or as we tranſlate it, by the lots of about one hundred and twenty, which were all the Chriſtians of the place. TIMOTHY, an Evangeliſt, was ordain'd by PAUL in conjunction with the Elders. The Deacons were appointed by the People, who are the beſt judges of ſuch among'em as deſerve that office. And to add another inſtance, PAUL tells us that BARNABAS was, together with himſelf, tho' an Apoſtle, choſen by all the Aſſemblies to travel. It cannot be conteſted but that Apoſtles and Evangeliſts might be apppointed by thoſe of the ſame order without the joint conſent or approbation of others; for it is highly reaſonable, that the author or immediate publiſhers of a Doctrine (as well as of any new invention) ſhould have the choice and nomination of the firſt managers. But if even upon ſuch occaſions, the Apoſtles thought fit to deſire the concurrence of their proſelytes, what, pray, can incapacitate the People now from chuſing the ordinary Miniſters, ſo immediately relating to themſelves? eſpecially, ſeeing there are no perſons at this time in the world, to whom any deference ought to be paid upon the ſcore of extraordinary gifts or power: and, equivocally to ſay, that none can give but what they have, proves as ſtrongly that the citizens of London cannot chuſe their Sheriffs, nor the nobility of Poland their King, ſince every elector is not himſelf a King or a Sheriff.

VI. In this caſe therefore, as in all other publick affairs of the People, the right of Election is theirs; or, which is the ſame thing, of ſuch a ſufficient number, anſwerable to them, upon whom they ſhall devolve it, when they cannot all conveniently meet in one place. If they be allow'd not only to chuſe their Mayors and Aldermen, but alſo their Lawyers or Phyſicians, of whoſe profeſſions they are ſuch incompetent judges, with much greater reaſon may they elect their Eccleſiaſtick Teachers, in whom no eſſential quality is requir'd, that every Chriſtian is not bound to poſſeſs. All men are frequently commanded by the voice of CHRIST and Reaſon, not only to be well exercis'd in piety and the knowledge of the truth, but alſo to inſtruct their families and neighbours, to admoniſh and reprove, to comfort and edify one another.

So that the only difference between the People and their Teachers conſiſts, as I remark'd before, in this; namely, that leſt theſe duties ſhould thro' vice, neglect, or buſineſs, be generally omitted, certain perſons are ſet apart by all to preach them, which exempts no body from particular obligations. I affirm therefore that any Society of Chriſtians may out of their own number, or any other body of people, pitch upon willing perſons, with the neceſſary qualifications to be their Overſeers. This is the moſt divine and regular Miſſion upon earth, as agreeable to original practice, and the light of reaſon which is the candle of the Lord. But that the Overſeers ſhould excluſively of the People chuſe one another, much leſs be ordain'd by one, is both unreaſonable and unſafe, as I ſhall make it appear e're I have done. Whoever aſſents to theſe truths, muſt likewiſe grant that he's no longer an Overſeer that is depos'd for juſt cauſes, as being ignorant, debauch'd, or an enemy to the Government. No more is he that has no charge at preſent, tho' formerly the Paſtor of an aſſembly: for 'tis the relation between the aſſembly and him that gave him this denomination, which periſhes as ſoon as that is diſſolv'd. The diſtinction therefore between a Miniſter and the exerciſe of his Miniſtry, is quite as ridiculous, as when in other words they ſay, that he is a Miniſter in habit who is not one in act, which is to be actually none at all. For my own part, I don't look upon any in the nation, however dignify'd or diſtinguiſh'd, that is not ſomewhere an actual Teacher, and as ſuch receiv'd by the People, to be more a Biſhop, Elder, or Paſtor (term it as you pleaſe) than I think him this year Lord Mayor, that was ſo the laſt; or that a ſhepherd remains one, after the flock is all ſold to the butchers or devour'd by the wolves. And when I call thoſe perſons by any of the aforeſaid or equivalent names, I'm then forc'd to uſe the language of cuſtom and not of reaſon, which in many other points is the misfortune of more beſides my ſelf. All they can claim is a capacity of being Teachers, when any ſociety pleaſes to authorize 'em; to which every willing and qualify'd Chriſtian may pretend as well as they: for this only amounts to poſſibility and fitneſs: nor will any body deny but that a man who has already approv'd himſelf in teaching, is preferable to another, of whoſe abilities the world has had no experience, nor that ſuch a perſon is deſerving of honor and reſpect wherever he comes, if he has worthily executed his office; but the ſame is as true of all other callings important to the common-wealth.

VII. Moſt of thoſe who make Biſhops a ſuperior order to other Prieſts or Miniſters, teach a very different doctrine from this. For, according to them, the Biſhop only may ordain; and let the People be never ſo unanimous, or let their Teachers be unexceptionable in their lives, learning, and doctrine, yet if they receive not their power from a Biſhop they have no Chriſtian Church or Aſſemblies, nor can they reap any benefit from the practice of religious Duties. This is one of the moſt extravagant and uncharitable poſitions that was ever heard. It's abſolutely as wild and contradictory to common ſenſe, as Tranſubſtantiation; and excludes as many from Heaven, as this renders Idolaters. For to aſſert that ſuch as are firmly perſuaded of the doctrine of CHRIST, and conſcientiouſly practiſe his precepts, are no Chriſtians without this Clerical Hierarchy, is evidently as abſurd as believing that to be no bread which I ſaw made and ſold, wherein I find the uſual colour, taſte, and all other properties, becauſe it was not bak'd in ſome oven appointed by Authority; or as if I thought nothing could quench my thirſt but what I drank out of ſilver. But if the effects of liquor remain the ſame, be the veſſel of earth or of glaſs; ſo they are good Chriſtians, let their Miſſion (as they ſpeak) be what it will, who believe and practiſe the Doctrine of CHRIST. Nor ſhall I make any diſtinction how they came by their Religion, whether under the diſcipline of maſters, or by their own private induſtry and ſtudy.

VIII. Some are likewiſe ſo ſtrangely blinded by Education, but more by Intereſt, as to imagine he ceaſes not being a Teacher that was once lawfully ordain'd, tho' he becomes deaf, or dumb, or any other way incapable to exerciſe his office; a privilege never claim'd or pretended by any ſort of Magiſtrates, except of late by ſome Kings, ſince the Creation. This wonder is perform'd by virtue of a certain ſacred, unknown, inviſible, yet indelible Character, as unintelligibly ſtampt on the ſoul at the impoſition of the Biſhops hands in Ordination, as a ſmall crumb of bread is transform'd into the body of CHRIST by four words of a Maſs-prieſt. *Chirotonia*, or the elevation of hands, was in moſt Commonwealths (particularly thoſe of Greece and Aſia, where the Apoſtles travell'd) the way of giving Suffrages at Elections, as it is now in the Guild-hall of London; whence the very act of appointing a Magiſtrate, or giving of votes, tho' after another manner, is ſometimes figuratively ſo call'd, as none will deny that has read the new Teſtament or prophane Authors in the original Greek. *Chirotheſia*, or the impoſition of hands, was a ceremony peculiarly us'd by the Jews, not always to denote an internal change or character, as ſome ridiculouſly maintain (which I cannot perſuade my ſelf they believe) but, when there was nothing extraordinary, as a ſolemn deſignation of the perſon appointed to any office in the Government; whereby the ratification of his Election was declar'd, himſelf ſhewn to the people, and recommended to their love and reſpect. Upon all occaſions of this nature ſome ſign muſt unavoidably be employ'd, whether it be by proclamation, the impoſition of others hands, ſtretching out of his own; the delivering of a ſword, a book, a ſtaff; the putting on a crown, a cap, a robe, or any other way. But all theſe are in themſelves indifferent, and depend entirely upon cuſtom. Now moſt of the Chriſtian Clergy have conſtantly retain'd every where the ceremony of ordaining Magiſtrates us'd in Judea, where the firſt of their order were appointed; while the people of other places obſerving their own national rites, and changing faſhions ſometimes in this as in other matters, are apt to imagine the Clergy would not depart from the common forms, if ſomething more than a bare deſignation was not meant by their peculiar cuſtom: particularly when they read that the firſt who were ſo ordain'd could perform extraordinary things; tho' daily experience may convince them, that nothing unuſual follows upon the mere laying on of a Biſhop or Presbyter's hands. Let ſuch therefore as pretend the contrary, convince us by miracles; and let thoſe, who are not ſo extravagant, acknowledge the uſe of this ceremony to be no more eſſential to theirs, than the ordination of any civil officers, and ſo let them indifferently uſe or forbear it according to the various Cuſtoms of different places, but never affect or preſs it as a neceſſary Rite of divine Inſtitution.

A PROJECT OF A JOURNAL

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I HAVE throughly conſider'd, Sir, the Subject of our laſt Diſcourſe, and I am not only perfectly convinc'd of the uſefulneſs of what you propoſed, but likewiſe fully determin'd to begin the Correſpondence you deſire; which I hope will be agreeable to your ſelf, as I ſhall conſtantly endeavour it may neither be unprofitable nor ungrateful to the Publick. 'Tis very ſurprizing that ſomething of this nature has not been thought of in our country before, or, if any had form'd ſuch a deſign, that it was never yet executed. Perhaps they thought that the Law and the

Goſpel were ſufficient. Our Laws, it's true, enforce the obſervation of moral and ſocial Duties, and 'tis acknowledg'd, even beyond the ſeas, that our Divines are the beſt Preachers in the world. But as all Duties come not directly under the cognizance of the Laws, nor all the different circumſtances of any Duty whatſoever; ſo the Magiſtrate is but half obey'd by thoſe, who can elude the intention of the Legiſlators, either in point of time or place, or in any other particular not foreſeen at the beginning: and he's often not at all obey'd, by ſuch as know no other reaſon of the Law, but only the authority that has given it a ſanction, which they regard as a meer force, that might as well have appointed the contrary; a power that acts with no regard to the good of private perſons, farther than they contribute to encreaſe the grandeur, wealth, and ſecurity of the Government. But when theſe very men perceive the beauty, harmony, and reaſonableneſs of Virtue in it ſelf; how much it is their own outward intereſt and inward ſatisfaction to practiſe it, (ſuppoſing there had been neither praiſe nor rewards to encourage it, nor any puniſhments or diſgrace to prevent the contrary,) and when they ſee that the good of all perſons indifferently is the ſcope of the Laws, whence the Government is wealthy, wiſe, or powerful, only as the wealth, and wiſdom, and power of the Nation make it ſo: then a more chearful and ſincere obedience will be yielded by them to the Laws, and the Magiſtrate be better imploy'd in diſtributing honor than inflicting of ſhame. This is likewiſe as true of the Divines, becauſe the intrinſick worth and rational evidence of religious Duties, will naturally confirm what they preach to the people, viz. that ſuch things are commanded by God, and acceptable to him, ſince their being both intelligible and practicable make them truly worthy of God, who could not ſhew his beneficence more, than in giving man a rule ſo much for his advantage, which could not therefore be invented by thoſe that teach it, for their own credit, gain, or authority.

2. But not to detain you longer upon a ſubject you underſtand ſo well, I ſhall rather convince you that I took your meaning right, by ſhewing you in what manner I deſign to execute your Project: for as to the juſtifying of a private man for concerning himſelf with the publick, or proving that this is one of the propereſt ways wherein I could ſerve my Country, I ſhall touch upon it in another Letter, which will be upon the Publick Good, or the common Intereſt of the Society.

3. Once a Week then you may expect to receive a Letter from me, containing a Sheet of paper, upon ſome ſubject of general uſe, and which you are permitted for that reaſon to publiſh to the world. This is the whole

deſign in two words. But to make it plain beyond all ſuſpicion of ſaying one thing and meaning another, I take a Week's time for every Letter, not only to give my ſelf leiſure enough without interrupting my other affairs, and not to overburthen the attention, or to pall the curioſity of the Reader: but alſo to leave no excuſe for an ill performance, and to keep a juſt medium between ſuch Papers as come abroad too often or too ſeldom; which laſt therefore are ſometimes quite forgot, as the former muſt exhauſt the moſt fruitful invention. The day of publication ſhall be Wedneſday, becauſe moſt people are then in Town, and that thoſe who come from their Country-houſes may receive this lecture freſh before them for their inſtruction or entertainment; as they may lay it by, if the hurry of their buſineſs requires it, till they are gone again.

4. A Sheet of Paper is the leaſt that can be taken for handling a ſubject of any importance with the care it deſerves, and perhaps in moſt ſubjects, that come under our conſideration, it is paper enough too: for if Authors did not generally propoſe, not ſo much to clear the matter, as to write a volume of a certain bulk, their reaſonings and facts might often be reduc'd within a very ſmall compaſs; and we ſee ſometimes, that the Abridgment of a folio by an able hand into half a ſheet, is ab etter Treatiſe on the ſubject than than the

Original, and more eſteem'd by good judges. But however, when I chance to light on any Argument that cannot be ſufficiently clear'd in one ſheet, it ſhall be continu'd in the next, or in more, as there may be a neceſſity for it; tho' I am of opinion, that ſuch caſes will very rarely happen.

5. As for the Subject of our Letters, it ſhall be any thing that may be uſeful and acceptable to the publick; but chiefly the moral Virtues, remarkable paſſages of Hiſtory, philoſophical Diſquiſitions, and the detection of popular Errors. The thread and body of the Letter will always conſiſt of the main ſubject, capable of ſuch embelliſhments and examples as may divert, as well as of ſuch grave and ſolid reaſonings as may inſtruct. Any ſubject in the world, and, what at firſt ſight would ſeem the unlikelieſt to do it, may give a natural occaſion for reſolving important doubts in Learning, for making new Diſcoveries in Nature or Art, for critical Remarks, and for quoting verſes, epigrams, fragments, and paſſages of Authors, ſuch as are not in the hands of every body, and that even the moſt knowing would be ſomething puzzl'd to find, or that indeed they never obſerv'd. Not that I promiſe you all this, Sir: but that if now and then you meet with things of this nature, you may not think it foreign to the Subject; unleſs you find that there's no connection between them, nor any chain of thought

or expreſſion, whereby the one gave occaſion for mentioning the other.

6. The whole World is the ſtorehouſe of the Materials I ſhall uſe; antient and modern, foreign and domeſtick Books; the Letters and Converſation of other perſons; the face of Nature and my own particular Thoughts. So that 'tis impoſſible I ſhould ever be at a loſs for a ſubject, but rather in ſuſpence which to prefer, and how with the exacteſt judgment to chuſe properly among ſo many. But one indiſpenſable law I propoſe to my ſelf, is, that the ſubject be ſomething which may be generally entertaining, for which reaſon I ſhall always treat of it in a ſtile and method intelligible to every body. The Quotations out of other Languages ſhall be expreſt in our own, with the original in the margin; excepting Verſes now and then, which often loſe their grace and beauty tranſlated, the whole turn perhaps depending on the dialect wherein they were written. Let no man therefore imagine that this will be a work above his ſphere or capacity: for 'tis in the moral part of it equally intended for the good of all, and the learn'd part of it is particularly deſign'd for thoſe, who have not the leiſure, nor ever had the opportunity to turn over many Books. And 'tis eſpecially hop'd that the Ladies, who neither do nor ought to undergo ſuch drudgery, will in theſe Letters find ſomething that may pleaſe

them, tho' not worth their while to make a painful ſearch for it in bulky volumes. 'Tis the duty of us men to eaſe and ſerve them in this, as in any thing beſides.

7. This Miſcellany therefore being deſign'd to be of univerſal benefit, the ſheets are printed all on the ſame Paper and Letter with this Specimen, and the number of the Pages are continued in the order of other books: ſo that every perſon may preſerve his ſheets clean till a Volume be finiſh'd, which then he may cauſe to be bound after his own fancy. The heads, or Paragraphs, of every Letter are likewiſe number'd; that any thing may be the eaſier found or referr'd to, and for the more perfect framing of the Index, which will be at the end of every volume. Now one word to my ſelf, and another to my Readers. As for me, I thus write a Book at my own leiſure, and 'tis the ſame thing as if I publiſh'd it under ſome general Title, though the Pieces be entirely independent of one another; as ſome have done under the names of Collections, Various Readings, Memorable Things, Storehouſes, Noſegays, Treaſuries, Gleanings, or ſuch other ſerious or whimſical Titles, denoting variety of Matter. And as for others, the method I take is infinitely preferable, becauſe they have no trouble in reading the Book by parts, which would deter them in one volume. They have abundantly more time to digeſt

the contents, than if they came on their hands all together. The expence will be no more than if they bought the whole Book, nor ſo much; beſides that 'tis perfectly inſenſible to moſt, and eaſy to all manner of perſons.

8. Now, Sir, I'll tell you, and, in telling it to you, I declare to the Publick what I am reſolv'd not to do; and whenever I tranſgreſs thoſe Rules, my labour, no doubt, will find a ſuitable reception. There's no fear in the firſt place, that the Reader ſhould be diſappointed as to the cauſe of publication, the materials of theſe Papers not depending on the wind or weather, on dangerous or dirty ways, on private correſpondence or publick permiſſion; and therefore not ſubject to amuſe any with falſe or ſham intelligence, to tire him with nauſeous repetitions, or to banter him with idle tattle at home for want of good ſtories from abroad: which is not ſaid in derogation of News-papers (which in all good Governments are of ſingular uſe, under a due regulation) but as things they cannot poſſibly avoid, if they keep up the order of their Papers, and to which the preſent undertaking is no way lyable. Neither, as in ſuch daily Papers, ſhall any part of ours be taken up with Advertiſements of any kind, which would not only be unfair, but alſo ridiculous, to make the Readers pay for what others have loſt or found, or what the Bookſeller has to ſell, inſtead of the matter with which

we have promis'd to furniſh him. But an Account of Books newly publiſh'd, ſhall always make up, at leaſt, one third part of this Journal.

9. Next we ſhall above all things avoid going out of our way to meddle with any Factions or parties at home, with civil or religious profeſſions, deſigning to hurt none, and to oblige all, to the utmoſt of our power. We ſhall not rake into private or family affairs; much leſs abuſe any perſon by his name at length or abridg'd, nor under any colour, repreſentation, or pretence whatſoever; this being inconſiſtent with all good manners, policy, or ſociety, being a real aſſaſſination when committed by anonymous writers, againſt whom the injur'd perſon has no reparation. Our deſign leads us not to concern our ſelves with particular men, or, if it ſhould, it muſt be to ſpeak well and not ill of them; and when we produce any as examples of worth or baſeneſs, they ſhall be commonly out of antient or foreign Hiſtory: or, ſince our own Country abounds with inſtances of all kinds, having been for many ages ſo famous a theatre of action; I may well mention the living for the honor and countenance of virtue, but in diſparaging of vice, the names I uſe ſhall be of perſons long ſince dead, and in whom the families of the living are not concern'd.

10. Nor is it to be fear'd that this Paper ſhould ever incur the diſpleaſure of the Government, ſince ſerving the Publick and the Government is certainly one and the ſame thing, eſpecially in our happy Country (if our own happineſs we could but truly diſtinguiſh and value) where the intereſt of the one and the other are inſeparable. By ſerving the Government therefore, I mean, not being the penſionary of a ſecret Cabal, nor the trumpet of a deſigning Miniſter, nor the tool of an ambitious Prince: but every man ſerves a good Government, who contributes (according to his power) to render the members of it wiſe and vertuous, which leads them of courſe to be peaceable and obedient; to bottom their felicity on the publick welfare wherein their particular intereſt is involv'd; conſequently to promote the glory, wealth and tranquillity of their Country, whereof they become proportionable ſharers; and readily to yield all honor, duty and reverence to the perſon and authority of the Magiſtrate, who deſerves it ſo well for the dangers, pains and care which he undergoes for the whole and every part.

11. I need ſay no more, either as a preface to my Book, or as an account of my deſign; but that whoever has any thing to intimate or communicate, any hint that he thinks to be ſeaſonable, any favorite notion or peculiar diſcovery, which can naturally enter into

this work, let ſuch Pacquets be addreſt to the Bookſeller, with a Letter containing the deſires of the ſender, and I ſhall comply, or give reaſons for not doing it, if the ſubject be of any importance; as to any obſervations or exceptions that may be made relating to theſe Papers, ſuch as have a mind to cavil, to ſhew their talent, or to make a noiſe about ſomething, will be ſure to print without conſulting any body; and to ſuch we have nothing to ſay, becauſe we have no amendment to expect from them. But as for thoſe who are really concern'd for truth, and who have any doubts to propoſe, or objections to make, who require a further explication of any thing, or that can point out any real miſtakes, they ſhall receive a ſatisfactory anſwer, and thanks into the bargain: for as I have merely engag'd in this undertaking for the ſake of truth; ſo the Reader may be ſatisfy'd that I ſhall not endeavour to ſupport it by any falſhood.

12. And now, to return to your ſelf, Sir, go on as you have advis'd and encourag'd me, to cultivate your underſtanding, to encreaſe your knowledge, to inſtruct your neighbours, and to rectify their manners. Whoever does not make uſe of his Reaſon, is not only ungrateful to neglect ſo excellent a gift of God, but actually prefers the ſtate of brutes to humanity. But whoever, on the contrary, has addicted himſelf to a ſerious con-

templation of the works of God and Nature, to a diligent examination of times and places, and to an impartial enquiry into men and opinions (which is what we truly call Philoſophy, and not any peculiar ſyſtem of the Schools) whoever, I ſay, will thus employ his mind, muſt needs be pleaſed with this Undertaking, and break out with CICERO (1) into this divine Exclamation: " O vitae Philoſophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! quid non modò nos, ſed " omnino vita hominum, ſine te eſſe potuiſſet? " Tu urbes peperiſti, tu diſſipatos homines in " ſocietatem vitae convocaſti. Tu eos inter ſe, " primum domiciliis, deinde conjugiis, tum " literarum & vocum communione junxiſti. " Tu inventrix legum, tu magiſtra morum " & diſciplinae fuiſti. Ad te confugimus, a te " opem petimus, tibi nos penitus totoſque tradimus. Eſt autem unus dies bene, & ex praeceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati anteponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus utamur quàm tuis, quæ & vitae tranquillitatem " nobis largita es, & terrorem mortis ſuſtuliſti ". *O Philoſophy! thou guide of life, thou diſcoverer of virtues, and expeller of vices! what manner of life ſhould not only ours, but that of all men in general be without thee? By thee it was that cities were founded, and mankind aſſembled into ſociety which lived diſperſed before. Thou firſt didſt join them in their*

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(1) *Tuſc. Diſp.* l. 5. c. 2.

their habitations, next in marriages, and then by a mutual participation of languages and letters. Thou we'rt the inventreſs of laws, the miſtreſs of learning and manners. With thee we take ſanctuary, from thee we beg aſſiſtance, to thee we perfectly and wholly reſign our ſelves: for one day well ſpent, according to thy preceps, is preferable to an erring eternity. What other helps therefore ſhould we uſe but thine, who haſt beſtowed upon us the tranquillity of life, and remov'd the terror of death.

13. Thus I have done with my Plan. But this deſign of a weekly Paper puts me in mind of that moſt true ſaying of King SOLOMON, that *there is nothing new under the ſun,* no not in the meaneſt trifles which we think are but of yeſterday's invention, as (to give you a trivial inſtance) the illuminations in windows, which of late years we have ſubſtituted to our old rows of bone-fires: yet if you look into JUVENAL, you find them there exactly deſcrib'd and practiſed on great days, eſpecially on the birth-days of Princes:

Herodis venere dies, pingueſque feneſtris
Ordine diſpoſitæ flammam vomuêre lucernæ.

And tho' I will not at this time affirm, that there ever was ſuch a weekly Paper as mine, yet 'tis undeniable of *the Daily Courant*, ſeeing there was in Rome a Daily Journal of all that paſt in that city, compil'd with the approbation and under the direction of the Magiſtrate. Theſe were the *Acta diurna*, of which I ſhall give you more particulars, and ſome fragments at the end of my Letter next Tueſday, which, as I promiſed you, ſhall be concerning *the Publick Good*. I need not be ſo formal as to tell you every time, what you know ſo well; and therefore now once for all I ſubſcribe my ſelf your moſt faithful humble and obedient Servant.

A MEMO-

A
MEMORIAL
FOR
The Moſt Honourable
THE EARL OF ***
CONTAINING
A Scheme of Coalition.

My Lord,

AFTER paying my acknowledgements for your laſt favor, I cannot but complain I have ſo ſeldom of late the honor of admittance to your Lordſhip; and when I obtain it, that no opportunity is given me to ſpeak of any thing to any purpoſe. I am ignorant, as I told you, whom you meant t'other day, by my particular friends that were againſt the Peace: but of this I am ſure, that all my acquaintance are unanimous in their ſentiments. Particular friends in this caſe I have none, but the Houſe of Hanover: and, tho' a good Peace be a good thing, we are perſuaded no peace can be good for their intereſt at this time; and much leſs a peace that gives up Spain and the Indies to a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon, or to any French Prince whatſoever. This, MY LORD, but not the ſpirit of any party, nor partiality for any miniſtry, is the ground of our oppoſition. I therefore conjure your Lordſhip, by all the friendſhip I entertain and profeſs for you, to conſider, whether it be adviſeable in any Miniſter to carry on a thing ſo perfectly diſguſting to the next Succeſſor? and I beſeech you to permit me (as your moſt ſincere wellwiſher) freely to tell you, that a clandeſtine negociation with France ſounds very ill to Engliſh ears, even in times of the profoundeſt peace. I have been ſo much amaz'd, on the one hand, at the circumſtances of this tranſaction from the beginning: and I have had ſo much confidence in your Lordſhip, on the other hand, as looking upon you to be moſt true to the Succeſſion, that I made my ſelf and others too believe, that the whole was a trick upon the French King and the High-Church; and that, as ſoon as the publick money was all granted, you wou'd upon very good pretexts break with both of them, and be the author of a happy Coalition between the true friends of their Country, which are the moderate Whigs and the moderate Tories. Several of theſe denominations have, from time to time, made application to me to convey their thoughts on this matter to your Lordſhip; which I wholly declin'd, when I perceiv'd ſuch difficulties both of acceſs and ſpeech, as judging my good offices of this kind were no longer agreeable. Among the reſt a perſon of undoubted credit among the Whigs, and that undertook (without preſumption) for the leaders, propos'd about two months ago this Scheme, which I took in writing upon the ſpot from his own mouth:

I. A Coalition, wherein the Earl of G*** and the Earl of S*** ſhould be left for ſome ſmall time unemploy'd by conſent, the reaſon of which is ſelf evident: that in this adminiſtration your own figure ſhould not only be chief, but be continu'd ſo, as a ſecurity whereof the balance of the Parliament ſhould be put into your hands.

II. Preſent diſſolution of this Parliament, which might be time enough for the year's ſervice, witneſs the laſt Parliament of King WILLIAM; that the qualifying Act paſt laſt ſeſſions, wou'd throw out at leaſt a hundred; beſides, that the heats about SACHEVERELL being quite allay'd, and ſuch a number of hotheads diſappointed by this Miniſtry, there wou'd not be ſo much money ſpent now on that ſide.

III. Pretexts for the diſſolution various, eſpecially that the mony'd people will never truſt this Parliament.

IV. A certain number of moderate Tories nam'd, in conjunction with whom the Whigs were willing to act.

And ſo he concluded, that, the preſent Miniſtry miſcarrying, you muſt be ruin'd of courſe, all being imputed to your Lordſhip, who will be made to paſs for a ſingle Miniſter: whereas, on the foot of this Scheme, others will be anſwerable as well as your ſelf for any meaſures that ſhall be taken.

This meſſage I peremptorily refus'd to carry, for the reaſons abovesaid; but told the perſon (whoſe name ſhall be mention'd, if you deſire it, according to the permiſſion he gave me) that, if your Lordſhip intended any ſuch thing at all, I was of opinion the proper time wou'd be after this Parliament ſhould grant the year's charge: for then their falling into heats about the Peace, or reviving the High-Church projects againſt the Diſſenters, a miſunderſtanding upon any ſcore between both houſes, or ſomething elſe that may break out by chance or contrivance, wou'd ſerve as better pretexts for a Diſſolution, and beget a better diſpoſition in the electors, who underſtand nothing, at leaſt very few of 'em, concerning credit, tho' in it ſelf a moſt eſſential point. *Sed illud quoque valeat quantum valere poteſt.* Many other repreſentations of no leſs importance I was entirely diſcourag'd from offering; and had you given me the hearing, the world ſhould never have ſeen his Electoral Highneſs's late Memorial. Don't you now find by experience, MY LORD, that what I wrote to you about that Court near a twelvemonth ſince, is exactly true? Inſtead then of your P*** and your S*** you ought to diſpatch me privately to Hanover this minute, where you'll find me as ſecret, as I hope to be ſucceſsful. In my judgment it imports you not a little, were it but for the Queen's ſervice, to clear up ſome things there. If you are of the ſame opinion, I know Holland ſo exactly as to engage my life for paſſing and repaſſing unobſerv'd; giving out here, that I am retir'd ſome where into the country. I need ſay no more, but that as my intereſt is inſeparable from that Family, ſo none upon earth wiſhes better to your particular perſon. But we muſt come to a nearer underſtanding. If you'll pleaſe to ſend me any letter or meſſage, let it be to the ſame houſe where I lodg'd, and where your chaplain ſucceeds me. Delays are dangerous.

I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful humble Servant.

Another

MEMORIAL

FOR

The Moſt Honourable

THE EARL OF * * *

London, *Dec.* 17, 1711.

My Lord,

I AM ſo far from being troubleſome by frequent, affected, or officious viſits to the great men, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, that the fear of offending this way, is rather more likely to argue me guilty of negligence or diſreſpect; and to make me paſs for one that either clowniſhly knows not, or that ſullenly cares not to make his court. But as my circumſtances muſt clear me from the laſt imputation; ſo the company I have ever kept, and the good reception I have often had from many Princes, in whoſe Courts I have reſided, or with whom I had any buſineſs to tranſact, will (I doubt not) ſet me right as to the firſt. *Principibus placuiſſe viris, non ultima laus eſt.* Your Lordſhip in particular will acknowledge, that I am not wont to interrupt my friends about trifles. But I am very ſenſibly mov'd (I own) at the unuſual difficulty of acceſs I find of late to your Lordſhip, when at the ſame time, I have ſcarce ever fail'd of meeting thoſe going up your ſtairs or coming down; who, not very long ſince, wou'd have been afraid to be found in the ſame houſe with you: men (as I then thought) the moſt oppoſite to you in principles, and men who were the moſt bitter in their ſarcaſms againſt your reputation, when I ſuffer'd the reproaches of my beſt friends for adhering to your intereſt; perſonal, I mean, and not always political.

But as, in the quality of a States-man and Prime Miniſter, you are to deal with all ſorts of perſons; ſo I don't complain of their good, but of my own bad uſage. I need not mention how many years ago our familiarity commenc'd, founded upon the ſame love of Letters and Liberty, which to generous ſpirits are ſtronger ties, than even thoſe of blood or alliance. As little need I mention, how inviolably I have obſerv'd the rights of friendſhip, both in the times of your proſperity and adverſity. My enemies never objected the contrary to me: whereas a certain (1) couple, I often ſee coming from you, and who are known to be high in your favor, are remarkable for nothing ſo much as the one for his levity, the other for his ingratitude, and both for their inſufficiency; which indeed does excellently qualify 'em for tools, if that be your deſign. They have ambition enough to turn and return, to ſay and do, to unſay and undo as they are bid: nor have you any thing to risk, when you uſe them as tools deſerve. To you (I can ſay it without vanity) I am juſt the reverſe. I might be ſometimes miſtaken in men, but never was ſo in things. My management abroad, my behavior at home, what I whiſper'd in private, and what I printed to the world, all ſpeak the ſame language, all tend to the ſame end. But of this point on ſome other occaſion: my buſineſs now is more particular. My adhering to your intereſt, MY LORD, when it was not my own to do ſo, made ſeveral people entertain an opinion of me, to which I can lay no manner of claim; as if I were no leſs engag'd in your Lordſhip's confidence and concerns, than you are in my reſpect and eſteem. This perſeverance of mine, and this only, is the foundation of that notion, which, tho' to me ſo reputable, I was never induſtrious to propagate: but rather inſinuated quite the contrary to all thoſe, who, led by this miſtake, ſollicited my intereſt for acceſs to your perſon, or interceſſion in their behalf; conſtantly refuſing the moſt tempting offers, and often when I had not many guineas left for ſuperfluous expence.

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(1) *S* * * * and *P* * * *.

I defy the whole world to produce an inſtance to the contrary. I laid an honeſter Scheme of ſerving my Country, your Lordſhip, and my ſelf: for ſeeing it was neither convenient for you, nor a thing at all deſir'd by me, that I ſhould appear in any publick poſt, I ſincerely propos'd (as occaſions ſhould offer) to communicate to your Lordſhip my obſervations on the temper of the miniſtry, the diſpoſitions of the people, the condition of our enemies or allies abroad, and what I might think moſt expedient in every conjuncture; which advice you were to follow in whole, or in part, or not at all, as your own ſuperior wiſdom ſhould direct. My general acquaintance, the ſeveral languages I ſpeak, the experience I have acquir'd in foreign affairs, and being engag'd in no intereſt at home, beſides that of the publick, ſhou'd (one wou'd think) qualify me in ſome meaſure for this province; wherein I am of the mind more than one ought to be neceſſarily employ'd. All wiſe Miniſters have ever had ſuch private monitors. As much as I thought my ſelf fit, or was thought ſo by others, for ſuch general obſervations, ſo much have I ever abhorred, My Lord, thoſe particular obſervers we call Spies; which aſperſion nevertheleſs on your account, neither I, nor yet ſome other men, who as little deſerv'd it, cou'd wholly eſcape from the malice of yours or our own ill-wiſhers: as if none cou'd approach a great man, without entring ſtraight into his meaſures right or wrong. But I deſpiſe the calumny no leſs than I deteſt the thing: and as you, on your part, muſt own that I never injur'd any man or woman to you; ſo I'll do you the juſtice, on my part, that Your Lordſhip never thought ſo unworthily of me as to hint, much leſs to require any thing of this kind. Of ſuch general obſervations then as I offer'd, you ſhou'd have perus'd a far greater number, than I thought fit to preſent hitherto, had I diſcover'd by due effects that they were acceptable from me: for they muſt unavoidably be receiv'd from ſome body, and, as I ſaid, from more than one hand, unleſs a Miniſter were omniſcient. Yet I ſoon had good reaſon to believe, I was not deſign'd for the man; whatever the original ſin cou'd be that made me incapable of ſuch a truſt, and which I now begin to ſuſpect. Without direct anſwers to my propoſals, how cou'd I know whether what I did here was a ſervice or a diſſervice? whether I help'd my friends elſewhere, or betray'd them contrary to my intentions? and accordingly, I have for ſome time been very cautious and reſerv'd. But if Your Lordſhip will frankly pleaſe to enter into any meaſures with me on a fair and honourable foot, I ſhall not only uſe all the faithfulneſs and diligence in my power to procure the good of my country; but be more ready to ſerve your Lordſhip, in this, or in ſome becoming capacity, than any other Miniſter. They who confided to my management affairs of a higher nature, have found me exact as well as ſecret. My impenetrable negotiation at Vienna (hid under the pretence of curioſity) was not only applauded by the Prince that employ'd me, but alſo proportionably rewarded. And here, MY LORD, give me leave to ſay, that I have found England miſerably ſerv'd abroad ſince this change, as in ſome caſes before: and our Miniſters at home are ſometimes as great ſtrangers to the genius, as to the perſons of thoſe with whom they have to do. I foreſee that a little time will convince you of this, eſpecially in .... where you have placed the moſt unacceptable man in the world, one that liv'd in a ſcandalous miſunderſtanding with the Miniſter of the States at another Court, one that has been the laughing-ſtock of all courts for his ſenſeleſs haughtineſs and moſt ridiculous airs, and one that can never judge aright unleſs by accident in any thing.

Now what is it that ſhould hinder your Lordſhip, after ſo long an acquaintance, from honoring me with your Patronage and Commands, but ſome diſagreement to the conditions demanded by me, or in the principles on which we are both to proceed? To perſuade

ſuade me of either of theſe, I fancy will be a harder task than moſt men can eaſily perform. The annual allowance I have propoſed is ſo moderate, and the ways of ſecuring it to me (without coſting your Lordſhip any thing) are ſo many and ſo obvious, that it will admit of no other queſtion, but whether you are ſtill diſpoſed to comply with it: for I had your promiſe for it the laſt time but one I had the honor to diſcourſe with you, beſides all the Letters and Promiſes of providing for me in general before. By declining a publick Poſt, not only out of prudence, but out of choice (which yet will ſcarce be credited) all pretences are remov'd of irritating any party or perſons that ſhould not approve my preferment, a thing unavoidable prefer who you will: and there are ſo many ways of accounting for my being eaſy, beſides one relating to Learning I ſhall not name at preſent, that this point likewiſe admits of no difficulty. The work I mean will be no party-drudgery, nor wou'd the greateſt Prince on earth think it below him to patronize it, whether he had the beſt, or the worſt, or no Religion. But ſuch will never like it, as are not hearty lovers of their Country.

As for the Principles on which we are both to act, I hope we are ſtill more agreed. The ſpecial ones of uſefully ſerving your Lordſhip, and ſecuring a competent maintenance to my ſelf, are ſuppoſed of courſe. But the general ones which with me are unalterable and indiſpenſable, are civil Liberty, religious Toleration, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Theſe are my conditions *ſine qua non:* and he that will not agree with me on this foot, muſt never employ me nor ever truſt me. This I take to be plain-dealing, as I take honeſty to be the beſt policy. Sooner than recreantly eſpouſe Prerogative, Perſecution, or the Pretender, let me be utterly diſcarded, be expoſed to all hazards, difficulties, and inconveniencies. To obviate any miſunderſtanding, MY LORD, I mean no more by Liberty than a government of Laws and not of will, particularly our own excellent conſtitution of King, Lords, and Commons: yet without the Juredivinoſhip of the Prince, or the Paſſive-obedience of the Subject, the Laws being to both an equal rule. As the Whigs mean no other Commonwealth, contrary to the calumny of the furious and ill-affected part of the Tories; ſo I am perſuaded many of the Tories are far from aiming at ſetting up irreſiſtible Power or indefeaſible Succeſſion, contrary to the ſuggeſtions of ſome weak but well-meaning Whigs. The Papiſts and Jacobites are common enemies to both, and againſt theſe they muſt both join at laſt, or be ruin'd. Such a Common-wealth's-man I only approve, as your Lordſhip formerly was, when you encourag'd me to reprint *Harrington's Oceana*, tho' neither of us imagin'd the model it ſelf to be practicable. For my own part, as I have ever been, ſo I ſtill declare my ſelf to be a Whig: a Whig, I ſay, by denomination as well as by principle, in the ſenſe that I have explain'd this word in a book I wrote by your Lordſhip's allowance and encouragement, *the Memorial of the State of England*. But I declare at the ſame time, that I am far from thinking the Prince, or even his chief Miniſter, ſhould make himſelf the head of a party; which will not only render either or both of them contemptible, but likewiſe plunge 'em into inextricable difficulties. In this very reſpect I have often admir'd and applauded your Lordſhip, for ſo often in certain affairs recovering the overſetting veſſel to its former ſteddy courſe: and it ſhall be my ardenteſt wiſh, that no provocation of what nature ſoever, no precipitate meaſures of your aſſociates, neither ſuperior influence, nor inferior phrenzy, may be able to force you into any of thoſe extremes, the edge of whoſe fury you have ſometimes blunted or retorted with ſuch admirable addreſs. So have I always underſtood your conduct, and ſo have I always explain'd it in the ſincerity of my heart, as well as by my inclination to have it ſo: ſo I underſtand your Lordſhip now (whether I be miſtaken or not) and may I prove as true a Prophet as ever to my ſpecial Friends! But my mind in this matter is fully underſtood by the Scheme I preſum'd to lay before you not very long ago about a Coalition, towards the effecting of which, nevertheleſs,

theleſs, the management of affairs ſince gives me very ſmall hopes, and ſeems to portend quite the contrary, which muſt needs end in confuſion.

. Now if your Lordſhip keeps as firm as ever to the glorious principle of Liberty, you muſt by an inevitable conſequence be entirely fixt in the next human and heavenly principle of Toleration. So far am I from apprehending you ſhould, as ſome daily inſinuate, promote any of the High-Church deſigns, thoſe projects of APOLLYON, that I am perſuaded (whatever uſe you may make of the Proteſtant Jeſuits of Chriſt-Church) you can never favor thoſe Prieſts who ſawcily ſtrike at the Queen's Supremacy, by aſſerting the Independency of the Church upon the State; who openly endeavour to make the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper paſs for a proper Sacrifice the very eſſence of the Maſs; who as boldly preſs the duty of private Confeſſion to a Prieſt, in order to introduce the neceſſity of his lucrative Abſolution; and who, by other means more covert and diſguis'd, labour at reconciling ours with the Church of Rome, or rather to make the Engliſh Church as pompous, ſuperſtitious, and tyrannical as the Papal: the ultimate end of A***, S***, M***, and ſuch other Preachers for Biſhopricks, being nothing elſe but advancing the pride and power of Prieſts. This is their *Church of England*, and by this word is the mob deluded. How can I, that think I know your Lordſhip ſo well, ever impoſe on my ſelf ſo far, or ſuffer my friends to ſwallow ſuch a monſtrous abſurdity, as that you ſhould not ſtrenuouſly ſupport the legal Toleration, ay and the general Naturalization too, in their utmoſt latitude? as being the main ſprings and ſecrets of making any country flouriſh in wealth and learning, in arts and arms. Your Lordſhip knows that I neither am, nor affect to be thought, a Bigot; and that I abominate Licentiouſneſs as much as I venerate Liberty. But let no body imagine that we Free-thinkers (whom ſome of narrow views ignorantly confound with thoughtleſs Libertines) ſhould be leſs zealous or courageous, than the moſt wholeſale believer or the preciſeſt profeſſor of 'em all, againſt the return of Popery under whatever denomination. The converts in King JAMES's time were moſt of 'em Eccleſiaſtics or their Lay-bigotted Pupils, and not one of 'em a Free-thinker, no nor a Diſſenter: nor are the Free-thinkers (for which glorious name they are oblig'd to their enemies) ſo eaſily put off with words as ſome others, ſince there may very well be ſuch a thing as Proteſtant Popery; for Popery is in reality nothing elſe, but *the Clergy's aſſuming a right to think for the Laity*, from which not only follows the leading or driving of them at their pleaſure, but every thing imaginable the Prieſts ſhall find conducing to their peculiar profit or authority. Engliſh Catholic ſhocks common ſenſe, as much as Roman Catholic. You may play your Prieſts then (if that be all?) juſt as you pleaſe againſt one another, I ſhall cheerfully go on to ſerve your Lordſhip for the Proteſtant cauſe in general, which, even in the leaſt reform'd parts of it, muſt be acknowledg'd to be a noble ſtruggle for Liberty, and a mighty ſtep towards the ruin of ſpiritual Tyranny.

Having expreſt my ſelf ſo copiouſly, My Lord, upon Liberty and Toleration, I may be the ſhorter upon our third principle of the Houſe of Hanover, from which the other two are inſeparable. Liberty and Property, Toleration and Union, have occaſion'd that Succeſſion. On theſe it is founded, by theſe it muſt be maintain'd againſt all oppoſition. And, as a ſure earneſt of a glorious future proſpect, theſe are the domeſtic hereditary principles of that Houſe: for, whatever our fools or knaves may prate of arbitary Power there, the inhabitants are Syncretiſts by profeſſion (that is German Occaſional Conformiſts) and never were there Subjects on earth better uſed, or more content; the Barons having an appeal from the Prince to a higher Court, tho' they never have occaſion given them to make uſe of this right. Your Lordſhip appeared for this cauſe as early as any, and if to the ſame you are not ſtill as firm as any, what a wretched Politician am I? how greatly miſled my ſelf? and how great a miſleader of others, eſpecially of that illuſtrious Family? This, I cannot in duty forbear telling you, is the place in which your enemies now attack you with their utmoſt vigor, and, from certain odd circumſtances, they perſiſt in their accuſation with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. It is here therefore that I daily exert my greateſt efforts in your defence, and where I have a better right to be credited than any of your new friends. To this Houſe, in a word, I am wholly devoted out of inclination and principle. I have no other intereſt than this, which I take to be the common intereſt of us all. Tho' changing of ſides is become ſo faſhionable a thing, yet neither fear nor favor, no advantage or temptation, tho' ever ſo conſiderable, not the byaſs of acquaintance, nor even the force of friendſhip, can take me off (as the phraſe is) from this principle of the Hanover Succeſſion, where I have from the beginning fixt my reſt: and therefore I cannot but be honeſtly of the mind, that I ought to be more truſted and more encouraged, than ſuch as have been ever indifferent or ever enemies to it. There's a long liſt of thoſe I mean, and which I am ready to produce upon occaſion. I do therefore moſt earneſtly wiſh, that all ugly appearances (whereof I have ſo frequently complain'd in other *Memorials*) were quite taken away, and that a better underſtanding were cultivated with the moſt diſcerning Court in Europe. Your Lordſhip will find by experience that I don't flatter.

Since then, MY LORD, the truth of the matter is, that I have been for many years, both at home and abroad, your unwavering friend and adherent; one, for whom you have expreſt the greateſt kindneſs; one, to whom, ſince your late advancement, you have made repeated promiſes of the continuance of your protection; and one, who on many accounts may be more ſerviceable to you for the future than ever before: I cannot, I ſay, from all theſe conſiderations, but, in the nature of a lover, complain of your preſent neglect, and be ſollicitous for your future care. There being none but your ſelf (which may never happen!) capable to convince me that we are not embark'd in the ſame bottom, have I not ſome reaſon to expect good entertainment in the ſhip, where I have not been altogether idle? eſpecially, when I neither take upon me to control the officers, nor to claim any ſhare in the government. As to the obſervations I did propoſe to make, I fancy thoſe I actually preſented, are ſufficient to anſwer for thoſe I ſhou'd have made, had I receiv'd befitting encouragement. I appeal particularly to my early application about the pretended West-Meath Plot, and the too real affair of the Scots-Medal; both which (from wrong ſteps taken againſt my advice at firſt) have ſince occaſion'd ſo much noiſe, and, if I be not miſtaken, they'll occaſion much greater yet, tho' ſeemingly now forgot. No body is puniſh'd at all that libels the ſucceſſion, tho' I have ſhewn ſuch libels to be numerous, and openly ſold. We'll ſee what the houſe does with CR ** L: yet one wou'd think that certain others never expected thoſe to ſucceed, againſt whoſe ſentiments they act in ſo deſperate a manner. But, in plain truth, what ſhall we ſay after the pardoning of ſome from the gallows, whoſe execution might be a ſervice to the Miniſters as well as to the Nation? after the not puniſhing of one mortal for the late Invaſion, a mercy not to be parallel'd in all hiſtory? and after the diſmiſſing of thoſe that were taken in the fact on ſuch eaſy bail? The advancement of certain perſons in Scotland, ſeems prodigious unaccountable to the irreconcileable enemies of Popery and the Pretender. I ſhall not ſay however that this is inconſiſtent with her Majeſty's Speech, at the opening of the preſent Parliament (where being hearty *for the Houſe of Hanover* is made by her an expreſt qualification for preferment) becauſe in the firſt ſpeech ſhe ever made in Parliament, ſhe bids the nation expect *to find her always a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word.* Nor muſt your Lordſhip take ill what is meant ſo well, if I prophecy that two incendiaries (2) in Ireland, if not timely prevented, will occaſion you many a heart-ake: ſeeing the honeſt people of England now do make the ſame inferences from the proceedings about Corporations in Ireland,

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(2) *P* *** and *H* ***.

land, that they did from the Declarations for Indulgence in Scotland, and from the Quo Warranto's and Regulators in England, in King JAMES's time. *Verbum ſapienti:* for ſurely the reigns of King CHARLES and King JAMES ſhould be no patterns to men of revolution principles; by which I mean thoſe that acted in the Revolution, and that approv'd of it. Nor are many leſs alarm'd at the late unproteſtant and unpolitick Addreſſes of certain Iriſh Biſhops, and their noble pupils in leading-ſtrings. I hope, during the power of ſuch a father's ſon, the honeſt Northern Diſſenters may not be ſo barbarouſly us'd with relation to the penſion of their Miniſters, as a reward (or ſhall I ſay a puniſhment?) for ſecuring London-Derry, and preventing thereby a deſcent into Great Britain of a very dubious iſſue. Muſt repriſals be thus taken upon them, for the villanous impoſtor LANGTON's being ſtruck off the Eſtabliſhment? I further hope, that you'll keep ſome body from medling a third time in that Kingdom with matters above his ſphere.

But I am launch'd perhaps too far, where my advice is not ask'd: and I am afraid by this time, Your Lordſhip may imagine I would give my ſelf airs of importance. I appeal to your own experience, whether of all that tranſact any thing with you, I be not the fartheſt from this ſort of vanity? Neither am I a medler or buſy body, beyond what juſtly comes to the ſhare of every free ſubject. Have I ever obtruded on Your Lordſhip's privacies? or importun'd you to tell me, what you did not think fit to impart of your own accord? for as to the affairs of the preſent conjuncture, I content my ſelf with knowing as much of 'em, as any man in the world that is not in the ſecret, of which I have given, where it was neceſſary, a moſt authentic demonſtration; and even to your ſelf, when, in my laſt *Memorial*, I declar'd againſt any Peace at all at this time, as believing it muſt be ſuch a peace, as will not only render uſeleſs all her Majeſty's triumphs, ſully the honor of the nation, betray our beſt and firmeſt allies, but effectually ruin theirs, and ours, and the liberties of all Europe, beſides the manifeſt breaches of word and faith in perſons, whoſe character ought not to be lightly proſtituted. I wiſh from my ſoul, inconſiderable as I am, that you had vouchſaf'd to ask me a few queſtions, with regard to ſome particulars.

As for writing in defence of your perſon or politics (the neglect of which was lately objected to me, by one of your relations) how cou'd I poſſibly divine, without your expreſs inſtructions, that I ſhou'd not be all the while unskilfully thwarting your deſigns? Far from being ambitious of recommending your Schemes to the publick, I wou'd gladly have employ'd my pen to convince the world, that it was neither by your Lordſhip's privity nor approbation (as your enemies give out) that our faithful Allies, eſpecially the Dutch, have been treated of late, in a manner too injurious and ſcurrilous to be permitted even towards declar'd enemies, in any civiliz'd country. Poſterity will be aſham'd, when they read ſuch infamous pieces. With what alacrity ſhould I obey, were I authoriz'd to ſhew how the not calling of the wretched Abel Roper to account for his treaſonable paragraph againſt the Succeſſion, and his abominable uſage of all men of worth, abroad and at home (not to forget the Author of *the good old cauſe*, of the *Oath to an Invader*, the *Examiner*, and ſuch other open oppoſers of the Proteſtant Line;) how, I ſay, this unexampl'd lenity towards ſuch criminals, is conſiſtent with our care and concern for the Houſe of Hannover, and for the Liberties that have coſt ſo much blood and treaſure to ſecure; for, believe me or not, I had rather be enabl'd to ſhew the true reaſons, than to receive a bank-bill of a thouſand pounds. My beſt apology for the length of this Letter, My Lord, is that the nature of the thing requir'd it. I have before made uſe in it of the ſimile of a Lover, and, as ſuch indeed, I thought fit once for all to come to a thorow explanation: looking upon uncertainty as one of the greateſt misfortunes that can befall me, and being reſolv'd, if my affection be not kill'd by your unkindneſs (I mean to your ſelf as well as to me) to become indiſſolubly yours; for which the only ſecret is, that you do inſeparably become your Country's. I am with the ſame dutifulneſs, zeal, and reſpect as ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt faithful, obedient,

and devoted Servant.

A MEMORIAL

Preſented to a

MINISTER OF STATE,

Soon after his Majeſty King GEORGE'S *acceſſion to the Crown.*

THE chief heads of this Memorial ſhall be the Clergy and the Laity. And as for the firſt of theſe, I take it for granted, as a thing of publick notoriety, that but too many of the Clergy of England have no regard for any thing but profit and power; that the more you enrich or advance them, the more haughty and miſchievous they will be; not valuing any ſort of Religion or Virtue, further than it merely ſerves their intereſt. This, you'll ſay, ought not to be ſo, to which I add, that 'tis pity it ſhould be ſo. But neither of us can deny the fact: and I conceive the only way to manage thoſe men, ſo that they may neither hamper the Government nor diſturb the Peace of the People (by their intrigues and importunities with relation to the firſt; or their impoſing upon and gaining the money of the laſt, by wheedling, and eſpecially by practiſing upon ſick people) is to make the ſtatute of Mortmain in force as formerly. Their revenues are ſufficient, and much more than are enjoy'd by any ſecular Prieſts in the world. Nay, had many of them leſs, their cures would be better taken care of: and it is apparent that nothing ever did or can keep them quiet, but a ſtrict and ſteddy hand over them. I mean, that they be not ſuffer'd (much leſs encourag'd) to meddle with politicks or civil affairs; but that they be ſtrictly kept to their ſpiritual office, as ſet forth in a Sermon preach'd by the late Archbiſhop of York. They muſt be diſcountenanc'd in their rampant practices, and thoſe be never preferr'd who tranſgreſs in the above-mentioned particulars. Thus the thing may be eaſieſt affected, by a good Magiſtracy in every County: for theſe I am ſpeaking of, are meanly born and bred, ignorant for the greateſt part, and made equally proud and inſolent at the Univerſities. Therefore when they perceive the civil Government reſolv'd and ſteddy, they will court and comply with the Magiſtrates; being naturally fearful, and perpetually undermining each other: whereas the more the Magiſtrate gives way to them, the more they'll grow upon him. It is ſelf-evident, that their great power and intereſt is principally deriv'd (not from the populace) but from thoſe of the Nobility and Gentry, who govern the people, and who are themſelves govern'd by theſe Prieſts. When very young they are commonly their Schoolmaſters, and always their Tutors at the Univerſities; whereby they cannot only lead them all their lives in matters above their reach, but even fright and deceive them as they pleaſe; governing their perſons, families, eſtates and intereſt. A remedy therefore ſhould be found out for a better Education and better Inſtructions at our Univerſities. Among other methods, I fancy if the Fellows and Maſters of Arts in all the Colleges were not oblig'd to go into Orders, that it would go a good way towards the cure. But of this more particularly hereafter.

Now as to the Laity, they are divided into Papiſts, Tories, Whigs, and Trimmers. The firſt of theſe, if conſiſtent with the flouriſhing condition of any civil Government, is not I am ſure with a Proteſtant one: becauſe their Religion not only obliges them to own a foreign Superior, to whom they yield a ſubmiſſion incompatible with their Allegiance to their natural Sovereign; but to break all faith, morality, and humanity with thoſe which the Pope ſhall denuonce to be Hereticks, in order to advance their own Doctrines, all calculated for the intereſt of that damnable, bloody, and deſtructive Faction they call the Church. Theſe men ought to be cruſh'd and ſubdu'd to the utmoſt (not for mere opinions in Religion, which every man ought to enjoy) but as they are conſtantly endeavouring, with all poſſible induſtry and artifice, to deſtroy all other Religions, to ſubvert Liberty and Property, the better to introduce their own Superſtition. The Pope and his Clergy abroad (who formerly poſſeſt the beſt part of this rich and happy Iſland) leave no ſtone unturn'd to regain thoſe powers and riches they formerly had. To this end they ſend over their beſt heads, generally natives of this Kingdom, to make converts directly; and indirectly, under the notion of zealous churchmen, to increaſe myſtery, ſuperſtition, and prieſtly power, to divide the eſtabliſh'd Church, to encreaſe the Sectaries, to corrupt the Univerſities, to raiſe antipathies among the People by party-names and diſtinctions; to bribe, (in a word) to lie, defame, and murther, or if there be any other villany more heinous than theſe. On ſuch accounts no proceeding can be thought too ſevere, ſince this evil is become hard to ſuppreſs, or indeed to be tolerably kept under, by reaſon of the byaſs the Houſe of the STUARTS has had all along in favour of Popery, and the incouragement it has conſtantly receiv'd, tho' in a more covert manner, from the aſpiring or the ignorant part of the Church of England Clergy. King GEORGE, on the contrary, will not only more effectually ſecure himſelf at home, and become prodigious popular, by appearing (as he is) a thorough Proteſtant, as having the Reform'd Intereſt much at heart; but thus acquire authority, credit, and confidence abroad, as the real Head of the Proteſtant Religion every where, and in every circumſtance.

To proceed from the Papiſt to the Tories, theſe are of two ſorts. The firſt are Nonjurors, perfect Roſicruſians in Government, a ſtupid, illiterate, ſtubborn, poſitive, noiſy and impudent Generation; yet not very dangerous, ſo long as they have ingenuity enough to continue their ſcruples about the Oaths: but once they get the better of their conſciences in this reſpect (which, a few ſilly creatures excepted, they generally do) then no ſort of men are more clamorous about the Church, or more importunate for Places. Theſe ought not only to be kept under, and diſcouraged; but alſo to be ridicul'd and made contemptible both in print and converſation: for they are never to be chang'd, and conſequently never to be truſted; as being incapable of reaſon, and inſenſible of favours. Beſides that it is an eſtabliſh'd maxim with them, to ſwear and creep into places, the better to ſerve their young Maſter, as theſe Wittals term the Pretender. The ſecond ſort of Tories are, 'tis true, men ſo devoted to the Church of England, that they are implacable towards all other opinions, tho' ever ſo little differing in form or ſubſtance from their own; but yet they are neither ſo furious, ſenſeleſs, or wicked as the firſt: for they wou'd not give up their own Property or the Liberty of Europe, they wou'd not willingly loſe our Trade or aggrandize France to the ruin of their native Country; and they are withal good friends to the Proteſtant Line, and as averſe as any to a Popiſh Succeſſor. Theſe men therefore ought to be mildly treated, and thoſe of 'em to be preferr'd to Places, who have virtue and merit; which are the beſt qualifications in all kinds of men, for Magiſtracy and offices. This impartiality will highly pleaſe the People, leave the Tories in hope, even the worſt of them, and give no ground for the clamours of any Party.

The Whigs (I mean thoſe who practiſe what they profeſs) are virtuous, wiſe, and induſtrious Church of England men; yet brotherly indulgent towards other Proteſtants, and all for a general Naturalization. To theſe ought to be added the Sectaries, who heartily join with them on one common bottom, againſt Popery and Slavery either in Church or State. The Whigs of all denominations (whatever may be their failings or differences in other reſpects) are immoveably ſtaunch for Liberty civil and religious, for Trade and the Balance of Europe, in which things I take the true intereſt of Britain to conſiſt. So far are they from being againſt Kingſhip (as their enemies fooliſhly calumniate them) that they are to a man moſt zealous for the Act of Succeſſion, particularly faithful to King GEORGE (whom they admire almoſt to adoration) abſolutely determin'd to ſupport his progeny, and ſuch, in ſhort, as may be depended upon in all the particulars aforeſaid. I ſtill mean thoſe that are true to their principles, ſuch as have kept their integrity in times of danger, that have not chang'd for intereſt or favour, and who are known (as all men are beſt ſo) by their actions. Theſe are the men who ought to fill all poſts of truſt in his Majeſty's ſervice, both at home, and in his Embaſſies abroad; giving ſome places of honor, and of profit alſo, to ſuch Tories as are to be wean'd off from their Party, or who are to keep them in hope and dependance.

The Trimmers are timorous puſillanimous knaves, who (forſooth) would not provoke any party, but ſmile upon all, and ever leaning towards the prevailing ſide, or hovering between both till they ſee who gets the better. I conceive no other uſe ought to be made of theſe men, but as tools to ſerve the preſent demands; but ſuch time-ſervers are never to be confided with poſts of truſt, nor with any ſuch great places, that will procure them credit and power, both which they will be as ready to employ againſt as for the King, according to the influence their fears or their avarice may have upon them in a perilous conjuncture.

If this be the true ſtate of our caſe, the next enquiry muſt be after a proper cure; which that we may the more certainly diſcover, we ought to lay down ſuch principles, as will ſupport all we ſhall build upon them in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe. There is no queſtion to be made, but that mankind by nature is of the ſociable ſpecies of animals, herding together in communities for their common ſafety; and that they quarrel among themſelves, or oppreſs each other, juſt upon the ſame motives and topicks with other animals: ſuch as food, venery, ſickneſs, old-age, and want of underſtanding; but to a far higher degree by the uſe of ſpeech, and eſpecially of hands, which manage weapons to their own deſtruction, as well as that of their fellow-creatures. I conceive therefore, that true Virtue, Religion, and underſtanding, ought to provide againſt theſe evils of Society, by good Education and wholeſome Laws, whereby ſufficient food may be provided without violence, venery without force, the ſick and aged reliev'd, and madmen and idiots taken care of.

The rules for Virtue and Religion ought to be plain and ſimple, or (as we commonly ſpeak) the naked truth, unchangeable, void of craft, of gain, or of power; being part of the civil government, and wholly depending upon the ſame. The Clergy ſhou'd teach thoſe rules, and deliver thoſe precepts without adding, diminiſhing, gloſſing, or commenting; which is the ready way to make Humanity ſhine, Juſtice flouriſh, and Communities happy. But ſince England is not what we cou'd wiſh it, we muſt endeavour to alter and amend by degrees, as far as practicable: and I think it very reaſonable, that preſent care ſhou'd be taken, to prevent the Clergy meddling with Politicks in their pulpits or elſewhere.

This evil may in a great meaſure be cur'd by the King, and by the Dioceſans proceeding according to his Injunctions, both ſending ſuch orders to the inferior Clergy, as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; the King acting as Head of the Church, and the Biſhops as Governours of their ſeveral Dioceſſes under him. They muſt be ſtrictly kept to that Law and Canon already in force, viz. that no perſons be admitted to take Orders, but ſuch as have a title, or are truly preſented to livings; nor that they be permitted to act or concern themſelves in any civil employment whatſoever.

Great care ſhould be taken to reform the Univerſities, which, if ſettl'd on the foot of Virtue, wou'd in twenty years bring up a generation, that ſhou'd retrieve the worth, underſtanding, induſtry, and honor of the nation, now ſo low, and almoſt deſtroy'd by a late ſet of men, who were there viciouſly and ignorantly educated. Smiles and frowns will go a great way at the Univerſity, preferring one before another, as they excell in probity and proper endowments. Other methods will have their due effects, as obliging the Tutors to read Lectures to their Pupils in a regular manner; but eſpecially encouraging ſuch Tutors, as teach uſeful knowledge: reſtraining them from dabling in Politicks, and that youth be not permitted to be out of their Colleges, but at certain hours, without the leave of their Tutors; nor to frequent publick houſes, but ſconc'd when found there at any time of the day: that common fire-rooms be provided in all Colleges, and that ſeveral ſuperſtitious cuſtoms be aboliſh'd, with that ſervile one of Scholars capping Fellows, Maſters of Arts or ſuch others, any more than they do other men in other places: that prizes be given by the King to ſuch as excell in Literature, or even in any exerciſes relating to Trade, no leſs than in Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Agriculture, Navigation, Planting, Fiſhery, Mineing, and ſo on.

As to particular Profeſſions, care ſhould be taken, that no perſons be prefer'd but ſuch as are bred up to that ſame way, or are well skill'd therein; but by no means to give the ſame perſon two employments in different profeſſions; I mean, that Lawyers be kept to affairs of juſtice ſolely, Phyſicians to take care of health, Soldiers for offence or defence; as Gentlemen to the Belles Lettres, to travel, to the court, to embaſſies, and to country-offices: the Merchants to trade, the Citizens to their various crafts, the Shop-keepers to diligence in retail and the plain rules of buying and ſelling, Farmers to the management of their lands, and Labourers to induſtry, ſobriety, cheap diet and cloathing. In ſhort, not to encourage them to entrench upon or intermix with each other, in any thing different from that which they were ſeverally bred; unleſs in caſe of ſome extraordinary genius and propenſity. This will quiet and pleaſe vaſt numbers of people.

Alſo it will be granted (I ſuppoſe) at firſt ſight, that a prudent Economy ſhou'd be us'd in diſpoſing of Places, ſince for any one place there are ſo many Candidates. No perſon therefore ſhould have pluralities. Rich men ſhou'd be rewarded by titles or places of Honor: middling men ſhou'd be rais'd purely on the ſcore of their Merit: and poor men for induſtry, honeſty, and other fitting qualifications. A ſpecial regard ought to be had to the various deſires and inclinations of men: for a ſmall thing rightly apply'd, may pleaſe more than one of twenty times the value. But men extremely profuſe or covetous, ought not to be prefer'd at all, theſe extremes making them mercenary, cowardly, and perfidious.

Education is of the laſt conſequence, and care ſhou'd not only be taken to adapt the profeſſions to the genius or inclinations of the youth; but alſo to encreaſe the numbers of each profeſſion, as the emergencies of State may require. And I think nothing will prove more pernicious to the Publick than the new erections of Charity Schools, where the poor Children are bred up all pen-men (forſooth) and qualify'd for ſuch employments where they are not wanting, but which are on the contrary more than overſtock'd. This cauſes a prodigious drain from the Manufacturers and Labourers, who are obſerv'd to grow much ſcarcer ſince this miſchievous invention, and which of courſe encreaſes the price of man's labour, makes commodities be wrought worſe, and ſent dearer to the market. It does further give the greateſt encouragement to idleneſs, the poor folks uſing all means and intereſt to educate their Children book-learned and Schollards; which is a moſt inconceivable damage to the Nation: as to this ſame Nation, I take the great number of Country Latin Schools to be a real loſs, and injury, ſince four or five years of their childrens labor are loſt and miſpent, by moſt that can pay a ſmall matter for their teaching; tho' not one in five hundred makes any future uſe of it to their advantage, but rather to their ruin, and ſo much of their beſt time irrecoverably loſt from learning other matters, infinitely more ſerviceable to themſelves and the Publick. This ſame Latin-monging ſpoils their hand-writing, figuring, and true Engliſh, the only accompliſhments requiſite for the Populace.

Another matter highly injurious to the Publick, as it particularly reflects on the Prince, is that the Diſcipline of the Army ſhould be ſo neglected as it is in England, that commands ſhou'd be diſpos'd of for money, not merit; that falſe muſters and unfit men ſhould be conniv'd at; that advantage ſhould be taken of the Soldiers cloathing and ſubſiſtence; that they are not kept to eaſy labour for the publick good in time of Peace, and care taken to employ them when disbanded. But the moſt ſhameful evil is, the Collonels, and others making their children of two or three years old, Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns. I have been credibly inform'd that girls have been liſted officers, nay, that children unborn were ſo. Nothing can be a greater cheat, nor more diſguſting to all ſorts of people, than to ſee this practice; and to pay the money (which ſome want for neceſſaries) to uphold this wickedneſs: nor is it to be doubted but our good and wiſe King will forthwith redreſs this evil, for the fact is undoubtedly true; beſides that, he will have the more places to diſpoſe of, to men devoted to his ſervice, and greater numbers of officers and effective men to ſerve in his wars. Care ſhould alſo be taken, that the Soldiers in their quarters ſhould not meddle with the Magiſtracy, nor invade any man's property; that they be kept to virtue and morals, and not to be ſuffer'd to deſtroy the Game, which is a great offence to the Country Gentlemen, tho' they even give their conſent to the officers.

England is now ſo vicious and wicked, that it is of abſolute neceſſity to put the ſeveral Laws ſtrictly in execution, the doing of which tho' a ſeeming ſeverity, yet is real charity: and no people will ever obey a Government that do not pay a ready obedience to the Laws. The declaration of pardoning none, will ſave the blood and puniſhment of thouſands. Magiſtrates, in a word, muſt be oblig'd to do their duties, whereas they are at this time ſo complying, and ſo negligent to the laſt degree, that vice has got the better of almoſt all of them. Riots therefore, and Factions, and Tumults, particularly the diſturbers of the Worſhip of ſuch as are tolerated by law to exerciſe their Religion, ſhou'd be as ſeverely puniſh'd as the law allows, and the abettors of ſuch diſturbers of the Peace remarkably diſcourag'd: for in a good Government, all men ought to have free liberty to ſpeak and write upon any ſubject whatſoever, not inconſiſtent with virtue, morality, or the civil adminiſtration.

It's highly neceſſary, that the Revenue and publick Money be put into a good method and frugal management, both as to the receipts and iſſues, as well as in all parts of the application to proper uſes; correcting the ſiniſter practices of under-officers, and preventing the laviſhing of great ſums by bribery, or trades-men's cheating and omiſſions, the ſlow execution of buſineſs both civil and military, eſpecially going to market upon tick, the advancing of money upon loans or intereſt, and uſing of extortion in returns. Times ought to be ſet for undertakers, and no great contracts made privately or underhand, but publiſh'd in the Gazette, and by other proper methods, to the view and conſideration of all the world. But I am grown leſs ſollicitous about this moſt eſſential article, ſince his Majeſty has ſhewn his wiſdom, by putting the Earl of HALIFAX at the head of the Treaſury.

There's nothing the Nation labours ſo much under at preſent, as the heavy load of publick Debts (tho' numbers of particular men be rich and opulent) and therefore its hop'd his Majeſty will apply his great wiſdom to this work; and manage his own Revenue ſo well, as to ſpare (if poſſible) ſome part of it to the publick-ſervice. This will gain him millions in time, and endear him to the People above all things: for nothing can pleaſe them ſo much after their late great payments, as ſome ſuch act, tho' a ſmall inſignificant matter. What acceſſion of power and her people's love, did Queen ELIZABETH acquire by returning ſome taxes, for which there appear'd no occaſion? and by her frugal management of the purſe, were not all the purſes of the Nation at her devotion? Nor, give me leave to ſay it, will any thing more diſpleaſe the people at this juncture, than the asking of an additional Revenue, as ſome out of officiouſneſs ſhew themſelves ready to offer, and others on purpoſe to make his Majeſty odious, to entangle his affairs, and that the Hanover Succeſſion may ſeem a national burthen: whereas it's humbly conceiv'd, that the preſent Revenue will anſwer all the demands of the Royal Family, till the neceſſity of publick affairs requires the raiſing of more money.

But that theſe main points, and capital articles, may not put ſmaller matters out of our memory, which yet deſerve our care, I am of opinion that Gypſies, Vagabonds, and Beggarly Strangers, ought to be taken up and ſeverely handl'd, if they cannot give a good account of themſelves: for they commonly diſperſe lyes and ſcandal, they teach the people tricks and knaviſh ſhifts, they are examples of idleneſs and thieving, and have an opportunity (which I wou'd have underſtood likewiſe of Hawkers and Pedlars) to carry about any treaſonable deſign, correſpondence, or libels, on which they may be put by crafty, diſcontented, or ill-affected perſons; who rather than fail of their purpoſe, will gain 'em with money.

The beſt way to prevent this, and many the like miſchiefs, is to have Gentlemen of virtue, underſtanding, and induſtry made Magiſtrates; men who know their buſineſs, and that will be ſure to execute the Laws; men that will be zealous to retrieve the morals and manners of the people, who are diſſolute and vicious to the higheſt degree. But no Clergymen (as I ſaid more than once before) ought to be in the civil Magiſtracy, and as few Lawyers, at leaſt Attorneys and Pettyfoggers, as may be. And if any of theſe Magiſtrates be remiſs and negligent, or ſhew others the worſt example by tranſgreſſing the Laws in their own perſons, let ſuch be immediately turn'd out, and others put in their room without favour or affection. I had like to forget that all Fees ought to be aſcertain'd by Act of Parliament, with a great penalty on thoſe that will preſume to take more.

The preſent practice of the Courts of Law is extremely corrupt, dilatory, and expenſive; the Counſel abominably mercenary, and guilty of extravagant extortion in their fees; the Attorneys are arbitary in their bills, treacherous to their clients, the greateſt encouragers of cheats and falſhoods, ay and of perjury too; commonly beggars, poyſoning the peoples morals, ever ſetting 'em together by the ears, and awing them to that degree, that they perpetually live in fear, being little better than their ſlaves: ſo that the Law, which was ſpecially ordain'd for the relief of the poor and ignorant, is become their higheſt bane and oppreſſion.

I further preſume to hint whether (now that we have got a King who delights in hunting, the princely exerciſe of his Saxon Anceſtors) it may not be of ſervice, to enforce the Laws againſt Poachers, eſpecially as to ſhooting. Theſe being very numerous, and encreaſing every day, the miſchief is not only the almoſt intire deſtruction of the Game, even in his Majeſty's foreſts; but it makes the common people negligent of their callings, idle, lewd, inſolent, and beggarly. To prevent theſe or worſe effects, care ſhould be taken to revive and encourage by prizes or otherwiſe, ſuch other Sports and Paſtimes as were anciently in uſe for the publick exerciſe of the people; ſuch as Wreſtling, Cudgel-playing,

ing, throwing the barr, and the like recreations ſerving to increaſe ſtrength and agility of body, no leſs than to procure or to preſerve health. Among others it is more to be deſir'd than hop'd (conſidering our more than Jewiſh ſuperſtition) that there ſhou'd be a reaſonable exerciſe of the Militia after evening ſervice on Sundays, particularly in ſummer, as it is practis'd in ſome Proteſtant countries abroad; which wou'd be uſeful to the State, and pleaſing to the People: provided always, that their fire-arms be kept in a room for that purpoſe, excepting only when they are thus to be employ'd.

But why ſhou'd I longer inſiſt on theſe particulars, when I conſider that never before did Britain poſſeſs a King endu'd with ſo many glorious qualities; as true piety, fortitude, temperance, prudence, juſtice, knowledge, induſtry, frugality, and every other virtue, all ſupported by an active and even temper, by uninterrupted health and application: ſo that (thanks be to heaven) we may all reſt aſſur'd that this greateſt and beſt of Princes will encourage virtue and truth, that he will employ and countenance ſuch men as will in time (under his benign influence) make theſe Iſlands the moſt happy, flouriſhing and potent Empire of the whole world; eſpecially, by the deſtruction of Superſtition and Vice, the higheſt and moſt glorious conqueſt.

A
MEMORIAL
Concerning the
STATE OF AFFAIRS
IN
ENGLAND
In the latter part of the Year 1714. *

THE happineſs of the Nation, and the wellfare of Europe, as well as his Majeſty's quiet, does in a great meaſure depend upon the conduct that is to be obſerv'd in the preſent juncture; and nothing but a Prince of ſo great wiſdom, experience, and ſteadi-

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* This Memorial was not drawn up by Mr. TOLAND, but found among his Papers; and therefore properly belongs to the *Appendix*: but it was thought fit to inſert it here, as relating to the ſame ſubject with the foregoing Piece.

neſs can extricate us out of our preſent difficulties.

That the State of Affairs, upon his Majeſty's coming to the Crown, may be the better underſtood, it's neceſſary that ſome ſhort account ſhould be given of the two Parties which ſo unhappily divide the Nation, their intereſt, views, and deſigns.

It's notorious that a great many of the Clergy in Queen ELIZABETH's reign came very unwillingly into the Reformation; and that it cut them to the heart to part with the gainful Doctrines of Popery: the Pope's Supremacy they were willing to quit, but 'twas in hopes of gaining that Supremacy to themſelves.

Theſe men, who ſaw how fond JAMES I. was of arbitrary power, thought they had no way of making themſelves abſolute in eccleſiaſtical matters, but by allowing him to be ſo in temporal: and in order to it, they preached up the Divine Right of Kings, and that Obedience was due to them in all things, tho' never ſo contrary to the Law of the Land, if not contrary to the Law of God; and that Subjects on pain of damnation were obliged never to reſiſt, tho' to ſave their Liberties and Lives, and that the deſcent of the Crown was unalterable by any human Laws.

Theſe Doctrines did not ſpread much during King JAMES's reign, and ſerv'd only to create jealouſies in the minds of his People, which had very fatal effects in the reign of his Son, who was intirely govern'd by theſe principles, and the party which embrac'd them, who went under the name of *Cavaliers*, as thoſe that oppoſed them did under that of *Round-heads*.

CHARLES II. prefer'd none in Church or State, but who embrac'd thoſe arbitrary principles; and the Univerſities made it their buſineſs to inſtill them into the youth: and then it was, that the parties were diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Whig* and *Tory*; the latter joining with the King, hindred the paſſing a Law for excluding the Duke of York from the Crown, contrary to the bent of the generality of the Nation, who then dreaded nothing ſo much as a Popiſh Succeſſor.

JAMES II. when he came to the crown, was ſo weak as to imagine the Clergy and Tories wou'd be tied down by their own Doctrines; and therefore courted the Diſſenters, ſufficiently exaſperated againſt the Church by a long and ſevere perſecution: this made the Church quickly renounce their former doctrines of Non-reſiſtance, &c. and promiſe the Diſſenters (who ſaw what King JAMES meant by deſigning to divide the Proteſtants) to treat them for the future as their brethren; but when they had opportunity of doing it, then they ſhew'd that they thought Faith was no more to be kept with Schiſmaticks, than the Papiſts do with Hereticks. And when the Parliament, in ſpite of all their oppoſition, paſſed the Toleration Act, they revived their old principles, and ever ſince taught thoſe Doctrines in the Univerſities, by which means moſt of the Gentry have been poiſoned: whereas if King WILLIAM had reform'd the Univerſities, and employ'd none but men of revolution principles, Toriſm had been rooted out.

He, or rather his Miniſter, to whom he weakly intruſted the whole adminiſtration, induſtriouſly nurs'd up the Parties, which being pretty equal, the Court cou'd turn the ballance on what ſide they pleaſed. This oblig'd the Party they headed to come into their meaſures; ſince otherwiſe they ſaw they muſt be oblig'd to give up their preferments and penſions to the other party. It was this, and not any diſaffection, which made the Whigs act ſo ſcandalous a part with relation to the coming over of one of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover. They had no other way to preſerve their leaders, and conſequently themſelves, in their poſts; and that the Tories put theſe difficulties on them, not with any deſign to ſerve the Houſe of

Hanover, their conduct ever ſince has made very plain.

This dextrous management of the Parties brought things to that paſs, that neither of them ſcrupl'd at any thing that wou'd ſerve their own ſide; and they ſeldom conſider'd whether a man was rightly elected, but whether he was of the right ſide: and if one party propos'd any thing which was for the publick good, the other party, for that only reaſon, wou'd oppoſe it. And as one party was for humbling of France, ſupporting of the Allies, preſerving the Toleration, hindring the Clergy from aſſuming more power than the conſtitution allow'd them; the other party (tho' their principles did not influence them) wou'd in oppoſition have taken the contrary ſide, by being in the intereſt of France, and the Pretender, and favouring the Papiſts both at home and abroad, and for perſecuting the Diſſenters.

And the Tories, tho' they were frequently courted by King WILLIAM, yet he cou'd never make them really his friends, or to join with the Whigs in the common intereſt. When they were out of favour, they clog'd the wheels of affairs, by providing deficient Funds, &c; and when employ'd, they favoured as much as they durſt the deſigns of France: and King WILLIAM being in their hands, when the Spaniſh King died, they made him own the Duke of Anjou, and ſit ſtill till the French were poſſeſs'd of the Spaniſh Monarchies; and acted ſuch a part, that the King at laſt cou'd not avoid ſeeing that all his careſſes were in vain, and that his own, and the Nation's ſafety, required the removing them from all places of truſt, or profit. And how they acted ſince, I need no more mention, than how they acted during CHARLES II. reign.

Though the greateſt part of the Gentry, by reaſon of their Univerſity Education, have been debauch'd into anti-revolution Principles; yet the Populace, who had no ſuch education, and eſpecially the better ſort of them, in whom lies the greateſt part of the riches of the Nation, and who have votes in chooſing Parliament-men, were for the moſt part true to the principles of the Revolution, and to the common Proteſtant intereſt; and when we had any tolerable Parliaments, it was owing to the little intereſt the Clergy and Gentry had then over them.

But theſe well meaning men were at laſt impoſed on by the perpetual noiſe the Clergy made about *the Danger of the Church*, and by being perſuaded by the Tories, that the Whigs, for the ſake of their private intereſt, wou'd never put an end to the War; which, they ſaid, had given them an opportunity of cheating the Nation of more than thirty

millions;

millions; but that if they wou'd be ſo much in their own intereſt, as to vote for the Tories, they wou'd force the Whigs to refund, and eaſe them of all their Taxes, and give them a glorious Peace, and a moſt flouriſhing Trade. Theſe, and ſuch like ſtories, made them deſert their old friends, and vote for the Tories.

The High-Church Clergy, who ſince SACHEVERELL's Trial imagine they can rule the People as they pleaſe, will rather than endure a Whig Miniſtry have recourſe to their uſual arts, and cry out as much as ever of the Danger of the Church, in order to make the People chooſe ſuch a Parliament as they hope will diſtreſs the King, and force him to put the adminiſtration into Tory hands.

And it can't be expected but that the Tories, who are now ſuch a majority in Parliament, will do their utmoſt to be choſen again; and for which now they are in the Country making their utmoſt efforts, while the Whigs ſtay in Town, ſolliciting for places.

And the late Miniſtry, who know an honeſt Parliament muſt call them to account, are oblig'd to be at all poſſible expence to get one for their turn.

And conſidering all the French King's hopes now depend on ſuch a Parliament, it is to be preſum'd, that French Money will not be wanting to bribe the electors.

His Majeſty's reputation abroad, his quiet at home, and the intereſt of Europe, depending in a great meaſure upon the temper of the next Parliament, all efforts ought to be made for obtaining a good Parliament.

And moſt of the better ſort of People, who now feel the effects of a bad Peace, and plainly ſee that they were groſly deluded by the Tories, and that they neither made out any one charge againſt the Whigs, or perform'd the leaſt tittle of all their promiſes, may eaſily be brought over to join again with the Whigs, eſpecially if due care be taken to have them rightly inform'd of all their late tranſactions, and Pamphlets writ to that purpoſe be well diſpers'd.

The late Miniſtry, knowing how much it was for their intereſt, bribed thoſe who cry'd Pamphlets and Papers about the ſtreets, to cry none but thoſe of their ſide; and were at no ſmall expence to diſperſe them into every corner of the Kindgom; and ſince the paper war is like to continue, the Government ſhou'd not ſcruple ſome ſmall expence, to have that which is writ in its defence as effectually diſpers'd.

Nothing would have a greater influence over the People, than if the King in his declaration for diſſolving of the Parliament expreſt himſelf fully as to the Danger the nation was in, both as to their religious and civil Rights. This wou'd make them perceive, that thoſe who cry'd out moſt of the danger of the Church, were the only perſons that brought the Church in danger.

It will be highly convenient that one, if not of the chief Traytors, yet of their moſt criminal Inſtruments, ſhou'd be convicted before the chooſing of a new Parliament; for then the Tories cou'd not take the advantage of the King's peaceably coming to the Crown, to deny all that was acted in favour of France, the Pretender, and Popery, nor ask why the Whigs have ſo little regard to the wellfare of their country, as not to puniſh, when it is in their power, at leaſt ſome one of the notorious Conſpirators: and I can't think that any one will oppoſe this proceeding, except he has been tampering with France himſelf.

That the eyes of the People begin to be open it's evident from the late election in the City, where a Whig Sheriff carry'd it by a majority of more than a thouſand: and becauſe there can be no doubt, but that they will carry the election for Parliament men in the City, by at leaſt as great a number, it ought to be ſo contriv'd, ſince other Corporations are influenc'd by the example of London, that the firſt choice of Parliament men ſhou'd be made there.

And ſince there is a diviſion among the Tories, and ſome of them have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves from the Jacobites, by ſeveral Votes in favour of the Houſe of Hanover, and in being againſt that deſtructive treaty with France; there can be no reaſon, why they ought not to enjoy his Majeſty's favour; provided in the elections they will oppoſe the Jacobite Tories, and in Parliament come into proper meaſures for puniſhing the betrayers of their country. This method will very much increaſe the number of his Majeſty's friends, and enlarge the true Britiſh intereſt.

As for thoſe, who according to their uſual cuſtom, hope by a majority in Parliament to force the King to diſcharge his faithful ſervants, and to employ none but themſelves, they are his worſt enemies; eſpecially the Leaders amongſt them, who ſlight his Majeſty's favour, and wou'd not accept the moſt beneficial employs, if not at the head of their own party; many of which Party, tho' preferr'd by or got into the Parliament by means of the late Treaſurer, yet becauſe he (tho' as black as any other) wou'd not take ſuch haſty unadviſ'd ſteps in favour of the Pretender, as a late Secretary, they went over to him as acting more agreeable to their violent tempers.

And if there be any great men about the King, who either recommend Jacobite Tories, or make an intereſt for them in elections, it's plain they intend not his Majeſty's ſervice, but deſign upon the firſt opportunity to ſet themſelves at the head of the Tory party.

In order therefore to the getting of an honeſt Parliament, it's neceſſary ſince the late Miniſtry pick'd out the moſt violent Jacobites for Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, and Magiſtrates, that they ſhould be chang'd, and that ſuch Whigs or Hanoverian Tories as are men of probity and courage, and of the beſt eſtates, ſhou'd be put into their places. In order to this, his Majeſty ought to have a liſt of the beſt men in every county; and ſince the Lord Lieutenants, and other great men, will in their choice have more regard to their own creatures than his Majeſty's ſervice, it might be proper that thoſe they recommend, be conſider'd by ſome private diſintereſted perſons.

The Collectors of the Duties, eſpecially of the Exciſe, who can influence the Ale-houſe-keepers as they pleaſe, and who being a ſet of profligate men, have almoſt as much debauch'd the People, as the Clergy have the

Gentry, ought to be chang'd, or oblig'd on loſs of their places in the elections, to do their utmoſt for his Majeſty's ſervice.

If theſe and all other methods whatſoever, which are neceſſary for procuring a new Parliament, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerv'd, yet the Tories can have no manner of reaſon to complain, ſince they deſtroy'd the freedom of elections by mobbing the electors, and by bribing the returning officers, and by uſing all other indirect methods: and conſidering the Court may be ſecure almoſt to a man of the members from Scotland, and there are near one hundred and fifty, who by reaſon of their places depend on the Court, there can be no danger, if vigorous methods are taken, of not carrying a majority.

When the Clergy ſee a ſteady conduct obſerv'd by the Government, and that they have no way of getting preferments but by coming into its meaſures, they, who mean nothing by Church and Religion, but themſelves and their own intereſt, wou'd not long ſtand out; and in the mean time there may be ſuch diviſions ſown among them, and one Univerſity ſet againſt another, as they may be diſabled from doing much miſchief.

The Tories want courage as well as ſenſe, and may be us'd by a reſolute Prince as he thinks fit: but if a Prince is ſo abject, as to court them, they grow moſt inſolent in power, and no Exchequer is ſufficient to ſatisfy their unreaſonable demands; and ſo mercenary are they, that there's ſcarce one amongſt them but may be eaſily brib'd to betray his own party. Sir C * * * M * * * is a remarkable inſtance of this, who, tho' at their head for many years till his death, was by agreement againſt the Court in little matters, the better to ſerve it in greater.

Cromwell by acting a ſteady part, and employing none but ſuch as were hearty in his intereſt, tho' he had in a manner the whole Nation againſt him, yet govern'd as he thought fit; whereas the Stuarts, tho' they had the whole Nation for them, yet by not obſerving ſuch a conduct, but giving themſelves up to be govern'd by a few worthleſs men (who as long as they enjoy'd their favour heap'd what preferments they pleas'd on themſelves and their creatures) met with a great many difficulties, and their affairs were continually embarraſs'd.

A Prince who only ſees with his Favourites eyes, and hears with their ears, can be no better than their tool, to execute thoſe deſigns that their ambition, their covetouſneſs, their revenge, and their other paſſions will inſpire them with; and the more a King is a ſtranger, the more will they be tempted to endeavour to impoſe on him, eſpecially if before they have govern'd other Princes as they pleas'd : ſuch men will take the merit of all the good which is done to themſelves, and lay the blame of all ill on him. A Prince thus beſieg'd by his Favourites, tho' his underſtanding be never ſo good, yet it will cauſe his own ſubjects to have but a very mean opinion of his parts. Whereas a King who has a mind to govern, and not to be govern'd by his Miniſters, ought upon all occaſions, to receive information from ſuch private perſons without doors, as are men of good underſtanding, and have ſhew'd themſelves in the worſt of times zealous of his intereſt, and who by being made eaſy in their private circumſtances, have nothing to do but to attend to his Majeſty's ſervice.

Theſe Men, tho' with the utmoſt privacy, may be permitted humbly to offer their opinion, and with the like privacy receive his Majeſty's command. This wou'd give him an opportunity to ſee whether his Miniſters acted ſincerely with him, and make them as well as others have a juſt opinion of his great penetration ; ſo that none would dare ever to impoſe on him ; and the advantage his Majeſty may receive (not to mention any others) as to the management of his Revenue either at home or in the Plantations (which laſt is under the worſt regulation) would be very conſiderable. And the Trade of the Nation has been ſo little the buſineſs of the Miniſtry, that no other uſe has been made of the Board of Trade, which coſt the Government every year ſuch conſiderable ſums, than to skreen the miſcarriages of the Miniſtry; and the filling up that Commiſſion with Merchants, and ſuch as underſtand Trade, wou'd be a great ſatisfaction to all the trading part of the Nation.

PHYSIC
WITHOUT
PHYSICIANS:
In a
LETTER
TO
B*** G***, *Eſq*;

Non Rem antiqui damnabant ſed Artem.
PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. xxix. 1.

TO mention your Friendſhip, Generoſity, or any other of your good qualities to your ſelf, is no more improper, than doing it to your acquaintance, or to thoſe whom your name has any way reach'd; that is, telling them what they know already:

but as theſe will be always well-pleaſed, to find their experience or their opinion confirm'd by freſh inſtances; ſo you, SIR, ought never to be offended, at the grateful expreſſions of thoſe you have oblig'd, tho' praiſe be not what you either like or ſeek. I take the liberty therefore to repeat the ineffaceable ſenſe I have of the concern you ſhew'd, for my late indiſpoſition at London; and my thanks for ſo ſeaſonably aſſiſting me even in perſon, to fly from the foggy, ſmoaky, ſteamy, and putrid air of that vaſt City: which, in ſo weak a condition, wou'd have naturally kill'd me in leſs than a fortnight, without needing the help of art to do it ſooner. I am not ignorant, that certain men of vitiated palates, yet mighty pretenders to nice breeding, declare a diſreliſh of all ſuch perſonal acknowledgments, eſpecially if public: but they are ſuch as your favorite Author, the younger PLINY, has long ſince deſcrib'd, (1) *men who doing nothing themſelves deſerving commendation, think it impertinent that any ſhould be commended.* The diſapprobation of ſuch delicates I ſhall ſtudiouſly court, by never failing to applaud merit.

As for my preſent ſtate, I am recovering indeed, tho' very ſlowly: for having as yet little appetite, I can have no great ſtrength;

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(1) Poſtquam deſiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. *Lib.* 8. *Ep.* 21.

nor have I been once out of doors, ſince laſt abroad with your ſelf. This is the effect of Phyſic, taken againſt judgment, and given without any. Had I obey'd the call of Nature, to which I am not wont to be diſobedient, and retir'd from London when my Lungs and Stomach begun to fail me (which I perceiv'd both to do by degrees for four winters paſt, tho' in the thickeſt fogs breathing and eating freely in the Country) this ſickneſs had not in all probability happen'd: and when it happen'd, had I then quitted the Town with the ſooneſt, had I kept to Mr. La Marque's ſimple and intelligible manner of treatment, which ſucceeded likewiſe to admiration (for I ſhall never excuſe my own blameable eaſineſs in this matter) I had e'er now been in perfect health. That honeſt man, who's well worth your acquaintance, is a good Botaniſt, a dextrous Surgeon, and prepares his own Medicines; joining all the three functions together, as of right they were united originally: and ſolely truſting to his own eyes, experience, and judgment. But I muſt needs be faſhionable, and perſuaded to put my ſelf under the care of a collegiate Phyſician by a noble Lord, the beſt of Patriots and kindeſt of Friends; who himſelf, the more's the pity, is ſure to fall one day by the hands of the Doctors: men, who, the greateſt part of them, ruin Nature by Art; and who, by endeavouring to be always very cunning for others, by making every thing a myſtery, are frequently too cunning for themſelves.

This has been the point in regard to me, ſince my Phyſician (willing enough I believe to do me good) plainly miſtook both my Caſe and Conſtitution. It wou'd be tedious, to give you an account of the particulars. Thus much only I now tell you, that what was given me for a gentle aperitive, to diſpoſe my body for ſtronger operations, vomited and purg'd me for the beſt part of three days; brought on a looſeneſs, that cou'd hardly be ſtopt in a week; and, beſides the continuance of the vomiting, threw me into fainting and ſwooning fits. Many material obſervations, that I made from time to time on other people, ſlightly indiſpos'd, but diſabled or diſpatch'd by their Phyſicians, preſented themſelves on this occaſion freſh to my mind. On this you may therefore depend, that, happen what will, I ſhall never more put my ſelf under the management of ſuch, whoſe art is founded in darkneſs, and improv'd by Murther. Even this Gentleman, after my telling him how much and how violently his Lenitive had vomited me, which he own'd was contrary to his expectation, ſeem'd no otherwiſe concern'd than gravely to ſay, *That it was very remarkable*. Was it ſo Doctor? I promiſe you then, it ſhall be the laſt Remark, that any Phyſician ſhall ever make upon me; and the reaſon very good: (2) *They learn their Art at the hazard of our lives, and make experiments by our deaths*; which is the infallible ſentence of one who was a thorough judge, and who'll tell you more truths preſently. From this cenſure however ought to be exempted thoſe few gallant ſpirits (far exalted above the herd of their profeſſion) who, by their Learning, Integrity, and Application, deſerve to be ſtil'd the *Benefactors* and *Deliverers* of mankind, in this like God himſelf: only it were to be wiſh'd that they follow'd the example farther, and made the charge of their aſſiſtance ſo eaſy; as barely to ſerve for an exception from him, who beſtows all his benefits freely. A diſtinction (in ſhort) ought to be made, be the number on one ſide ever ſo ſmall.

But the whole myſtery, with the numberleſs miſchiefs, of Quackery, (for, the cauſe of the Diſeaſe being once known, all Phyſic, except manual Operations, a regular Diet, moderate Exerciſes, and the proper uſe of Simples, is ſuch) all Quackery, I ſay, you'll find divinely laid open by the elder PLINY, in the 1ſt Chapter of the 29th Book of his *Natural Hiſtory*: a work little read by the Phyſicians, and leſs underſtood; ſince even the delirious fables, charms, and other magi-

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(2) Diſcunt periculis noſtris, & experimenta per mortes agunt. PLIN. *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 29. *cap.* 1.

cal vanities he ſo judiciouſly explodes, are by many of them groſly confounded with his approv'd remedies and moſt ſolid remarks. It is literally an unparallel'd performance, the like having never been accompliſh'd before or after him: and the character his Nephew gives of it, is no more than juſt; that it is not only (3) *a work full of Learning, but likewiſe as diffuſe and diverſify'd as Nature it ſelf.* Certain paſſages out of him, inſtead of a more modiſh New-year's Gift, I hereby ſend you; being ſure they'll pleaſe, if they do not convince you.

After having given a hiſtorical account of the many changes, ſome of 'em from white to black as we ſay, that the Art has undergone (which is an inſuperable objection againſt it) he proceeds (4) thus: *There is no doubt but all thoſe Phyſicians, in hunting after fame by ſome novelty, make an aſſur'd traffick of our lives. Hence thoſe miſerable diverſities of*

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(3) Naturae Hiſtoriarum xxxvii. opus diffuſum, eruditum, nec minùs varium quàm ipſa Natura. Plin. *lib.* 3. *Ep.* 5.

(4) Nec dubium eſt, omnes iſtos, famam novitate aliquâ aucupantes, animas ſtatim noſtras negotiari. Hinc illae circa aegros miſerae ſententiarum concertationes, nullo idem cenſente, ne videatur acceſſio alterius: hinc illa infelicis monumenti inſcriptio, TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERIISSE. Mutatur Ars quotidie, toties interpolis, & ingeniorum Græciae ſlatu impellimur; palamque eſt, ut quiſque inter iſtos loquendo polleat, Imperatorem illico vitae neciſque fieri. Ceu verò non millia gentium ſine Medicis degant, nec tamen ſine Medicinâ: ſicut populus Romanus ultra ſexcenteſimum annum, nec ipſe in accipiendis Artibus lentus; Medicinae etiam avidus, donec expertam damnavit. Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 29. *cap.* 1.

opinion in Conſultations about the ſick, not one of 'em declaring himſelf of another's Judgment, leſt he ſhould ſeem to approve his Sentiments: hence that Inſcription order'd by a wretched patient to be put on his Tomb, THAT THE MULTITUDE OF HIS DOCTORS HAD KILL'D HIM. *The Art is chang'd every day, being as often patch'd up, and we are driven whitherſoever the breath of the Grecian wits* [who invented this myſtery] *will blow us. 'Tis moreover evident, that the greater tongue-pad any among 'em is, he ſtraight becomes the ſoveraign diſpoſer of Life and Death; as if thouſands of Nations had not liv'd, and ſtill do ſo, without Phyſicians, tho' not without Phyſic. Thus did the People of Rome for above ſix hundred years, whereas they were not backward in receiving the Arts; and even fond of Phyſic, till after trial, they condemn'd and baniſh'd it.* Here's our firſt paſſage.

Now, he that in theſe daily, theſe endleſs changes and contradictory methods, does not ſee the abſolute uncertainty of the Art, muſt needs be either ſenſeleſs, or prejudic'd, or intereſted: and it is as evidently obſervable in ours as in all ages before us, that thoſe Nations, which have no Phyſicians, are troubl'd with few diſeaſes; and theſe eaſily cur'd by Diet, Exerciſe, or Simples, whoſe effects have been long and generally known, many of them Specifics. Thus it is likewiſe with particular perſons, who make little uſe of

Phyſicians where they abound, of which I could give many examples; my ſelf among the reſt, till I became infected with this deplorable habitude of ſome of my beſt friends, it ſelf the greateſt of Diſtempers. But ſhall we have recourſe to no ſort of Phyſicians? I anſwer, that if there be any choice, 'tis the hardeſt of all things to be made: for the Doctors have almoſt as many jarring Sects and incompatible Factions among 'em as the Prieſts, and come little ſhort of hating each other as heartily; that is, like Devils, according to a general (5) maxim. They broach novel opinions viſibly for the ſake of thwarting their Adverſaries, there being nothing ſo ridiculous or extravagant, which many of 'em do not hold: generally founding their conceits, upon ſome looſe ſcrap of one antient Sage or other, which ſeems to countenance what they maintain ſtanding thus alone; but, read with what goes before or after in the ſame place, it ſignifies quite the contrary, or ſomething as different as a Cock and an Elephant.

Nor is this the worſt. They reduce all Diſeaſes, with their Cures, right or wrong to certain precarious Syſtems, or Hypotheſes, according to which he that expreſſes himſelf the moſt volubly or plauſibly, ſets up immediately for an able Phyſician,

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(5) Odium Theologorum eſt odium Diabolorum. *Conſenſ. Univerſ.*

cian, and is by others ſo deem'd: tho' he knows nothing of Anatomy, Botany, or any ſuch requiſite qualifications; and wou'd ſooner kill a man according to the Doctrine he has eſpous'd, than cure him by following any other method. PLINY does not exceed bounds a jot, in affirming (6) *with wonder and indignation, that their Art has been heretofore more inconſtant, and is now more frequently alter'd, than any other, tho' none be more amply rewarded*; the eaſieſt means, one would think, for acquiring of certainty and ſtability. I ſhall not inſiſt on ſuch ſlight crimes, compared to others, as their willfully protracting many times the cure of Diſeaſes; or their turning of ſmall diſorders into perillous ſymptoms, in order to ſqueeze the purſe of an opulent patient: nor yet am I prone to credit thoſe Phyſicians, who accuſe ſome of their faculty of willfully ſending a patient out of the world; leſt another ſhould have the credit of a cure, which they cou'd not effect. This ſuggeſtion may be owing to their mutual envy, which is long ſince grown into more than one (7) Proverb.

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(6) Mirumque & indignum protinus ſubit, nullam Artium inconſtantiorem fuiſſe, & etiamnum ſaepiùs mutari, cum ſit fructuoſior nulla. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 29. *cap.* 1.

(7) Medicorum Invidia:
Medicus Invidiae Pelagus:
Medicus Invidiae perforata Clepſydra.
Conſenſ. Univerſ.

But not to quit ſuch an entertaining and inſtructive companion as PLINY, a good way lower in the ſame Chapter I have quoted, there's another curious paſſage; which, tho' the matter of every body's obſervation, was never ſo happily expreſs'd. He begins with the ſottiſh credulity of the Patients, and goes on with the ſtupendous impoſture of their Doctors; who, (to ſpeak of the thing as modeſtly as may be) are departed almoſt as far from ESCULAPIUS and HIPPOCRATES, as the Chriſtian Prieſts are from JESUS CHRIST and his APOSTLES. Thus run his (8) words: *Whoever treats of Phyſic, otherwiſe than in Greek terms, has no authority; no not with the ignorant vulgar, or ſuch as underſtand not a word of the language: and they believe thoſe things the leſs, which concern their health and preſervation, if they are made intelligible to them. Thus* (*by* HERCULES) *it comes to paſs in this alone of all Arts, that credit is preſently given to any body, who profeſſes himſelf a Phyſician, tho' a lye be not ſo dangerous in*

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(8) Imò verò auctoritas, aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus (Medicinam ſcilicet) etiam apud imperitos experteſque linguæ, non eſt: ac minùs credunt, quæ ad ſalutem ſuam pertinent, ſi intelligunt. Ita (Hercules) in hac Artium ſolâ evenit ut cuicunque, Medicum ſe profeſſo, ſtatim credatur, cùm ſit periculum in nullo mendacio majus: non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda eſt ſperandi pro ſe cuique dulcedo. Nulla praeterea Lex, quæ puniant inſcitiam capitalem; nullum exemplum vindictæ. Diſcunt periculis noſtris, & experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantùm hominem occidiſſe impunitas ſumma eſt: quinimò tranſit in convitium, & intemperantia culpatur; ultroque, qui periere, arguuntur. *Hiſt. Nat. ubi ſupra.*

in any other regard: but this we do not ſee or conſider, ſo flattering and agreeable is the hope, that every one conceives in his own behalf. Let it be alſo conſider'd that there is no Law, for puniſhing with death the ignorance that cauſes it; nor ſo much as an example of any being call'd to account on ſuch a ſcore. They learn their Art at the hazard of our Lives, and make experiments by our Deaths: beſides, that none, but only Phyſicians, may murder men with all ſecurity and impunity; nay, and affront their memory afterwards, reproaching them with intemperance, and reviling the dead without provocation. If you believe them, in a word, none ever periſh'd by a Phyſician, nor recover'd without one. How diſingenuous! how barbarous! firſt to torture and kill us, and then to give out, we did it our ſelves; that we wou'd not be govern'd, and ate, or drunk, or did ſomething elſe the Doctor forbad: whereas on the other hand, if a Patient's happy Conſtitution gets the better of an improper preſcription, and the perſon mends; then the Doctor has wrought a ſignal Cure, and the Medicine is cry'd up to the deſtruction of thouſands. But all that Chapter, of which I only give a few choice sketches, ought to be carefully read over and over by every one, who values ſuch near concerns as health and life.

Now, SIR, ſince I have ſo frankly declar'd againſt thoſe Empirics, tho' not againſt Medicine,

cine, (which is the gift of God and Nature) I ſhall, when my health is confirm'd, and leiſure permits, ſend you my thoughts more particularly, about the method how we may acquire the knowledge of thoſe things, wherein this Medicine truly conſiſts; and at the ſame time give you ſome neceſſary cautions againſt the intolerable cheats of the Apothecaries, who impoſe on the Phyſicians, as much as theſe on the Patients: for, to do every body juſtice, the latter have not done half the hurt to mankind as the former; and they wou'd do ſtill leſs, did they prepare their own Medicines, and avoid thoſe monſtrous mixtures, which are the ſource of infinite miſchiefs, and wherein a ſyſtematical conjecture has more place than reaſonable or experimental knowledge. They were deceitfully invented to bereave people of their money and their ſenſes. The poor Patients muſt never know what they take, nor ever pay enough for what they do not know. Beſides that the ſeveral ingredients of thoſe Compoſitions (by our Author prettily term'd *inexplicable*, or if you will *inextricable*) thus intangl'd and imbarraſs'd, fermented, coagulated, or any other way alter'd, do often produce quite other effects than what were expected from their proportionable adjuſtment: whereas perhaps any one of them, at leaſt ſome other Simple for certain, wou'd ſucceed as intended.

The genuine Books of HIPPOCRATES, with a few other pieces in that collection call'd *his Works*, are the beſt guides and helps to him, that wou'd ſtudy Medicine in the way of nature and experience. Such a perſon neither prepoſſeſs'd by any hypotheſis, nor ſervilely tying himſelf down to any ſyſtem, ought to pick what's rational, good and experienc'd, wherever he finds them; as well from an old woman or a ſavage Indian, as from Dr. MEAD, or Profeſſor BOERHAVE: nor ſhou'd he ſlight every thing that even Quacks and Mountebanks vend, who often light one way or other on an excellent remedy, by the credit of which they diſpoſe of numberleſs poyſons. Finally, he muſt not be a THESSALUS, one *who in the reign of* NERO (as (9) PLINY acquaints us) *rav'd and foam'd againſt the Phyſicians of all ages before him, rejecting indiſcriminately whatever they had invented or approv'd*: and this, not out of love to truth, or for the good of mankind; but to bring the whole griſt of Rome and Italy (if not of the Empire) to his own mill, pardon ſo vulgar an expreſſion. The candor, judicious obſervations, and incredible diligence of HIPPOCRATES, will give us a nobler idea of things. That admirable perſon, whom for ſome years paſt I have eſteem'd, as I do ſtill, for one of the moſt accurate Philoſophers; and whoſe writings I have perus'd more than once on that account (for at the Univerſity I never look'd into him, then groveling under the prejudice of thinking him fit only for Phyſicians) HIPPOCRATES, I ſay, who has preſerved in part the ſalutiferous remedies of ESCULAPIUS, ſhall be the champion of the next Letter: well aſſur'd, that we may as ſucceſsfully batter Quackery by his authority, as we do Superſtition by that of the Bible.

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(9) Eadem aetas, Neronis principatu, ad Theſſalum tranſtulit; delentem cuncta majorum placita, & rabie quâdam in omnis aevi Medicos perorantem, &c. *Plin. Ibid.*

In the mean time PLINY ſhall hold his rank in this Letter, and entertain us now with a ſhort parallel between the no leſs eaſily than cheaply procur'd Simples of the Fields or Gardens, and thoſe expenſive far-fetch'd pernicious mixtures of the Apothecaries, equally ruining men's bodies and eſtates. Hear him, and be wiſer. *It* (10) *has pleaſed* NATURE *to make theſe the only Remedies, things that may be prepar'd by every body, eaſy to be found without expence, and ſome of 'em our daily food. But the frauds of men, and ſharpers with baited hooks, have invented thoſe ſhops, wherein every man's own Life is publickly*

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(10) Haec ſola Naturae placuerat eſſe Remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac ſine impendio, & ex quibus vivimus. Poſtea fraudes hominum, & ingeniorum capturae, officinas invenêre iſtas, in quibus ſua cuique homini venalis promittitur vita. Statim compoſitiones & mixturae inexplicabiles decantantur, Arabia atque India in medio aeſtimantur, ulcerique parvo Medicina a Rubro Mari imputatur; cùm Remedia vera quotidie pauperrimus quiſque coenet: nam ſi ex horto petantur, aut herba vel frutex quaeratur, nulla artium vilior fiet. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 24. *cap.* 1.

publickly expoſed to ſale to him. There, compoſitions and inexplicable mixtures are immediately cry'd up; Arabia and India are rated on the counter, and a cure from the Red-Sea is apply'd to an inconſiderable bile; whereas the pooreſt man has, every day, the true Remedies for a ſallet: but if ſuch be brought out of the garden, or ſome herb or ſhrub be ſought in the fields, the Apothecaries will of all arts become the moſt contemptible. The paſſage is in the firſt Chapter of the 24th Book, and is too plain to need any comment.

I wou'd only here obſerve, how many, how great cures we continually read and hear perform'd in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, by flowers, roots, leaves, juices, barks and the like. But, without going to foreign Countries, wonders are daily wrought by Simples in the Highlands of Scotland, in the Hebrides or Weſtern Iſles, and in ſome parts of Ireland, whither the plague of ſyſtematical Phyſic has not yet penetrated: and, what is ſtill more obſervable, when, by the information of Travellers or otherwiſe, any Remedy of this kind is communicated to a collegiate Phyſician (as it ſometimes happens) preſently this man of myſtery, who ſcorns to learn of any one, ſo alters and diſguiſes his diſcovery, by preparing it more artificially than the Natives, or incorporating it with a multitude of other things, that it either loſes all its virtue, or produces a different,

ferent, if not a contrary effect. In the mean time a noble Medicine, perhaps a Specific, is cry'd down and grows into diſuſe, thro' the credulity of thoſe that implicitly hearken to a pretending Coxcomb. Thus even the Peruvian bark, and Ipecacuana root, are often render'd noxious or inſignificant by pharmaceutic preparations.

We muſt not ungratefully forget on this occaſion thoſe wiſe and worthy Ladies, who, conſidering, or it may be ſadly experiencing, the dangerous and often fatal compoſitions, the clogging and nauſeating ſlops of the Phyſicians (to ſay nothing of their imperious dictating oracular declarations, or inſolent behaviour) take care not only of their own healths and that of their Families; but are alſo a common bleſſing in this reſpect to all around them, whether in town or country: particularly to the lower ſort of people, glad to live by cheap and obvious means; while the Great chuſe to periſh by rules of Art, and to make a parade of their wealth, by the ſums they laviſh on exotic drugs, not content with enriching one domeſtic poyſoner. Among ſuch beneficent Ladies, I had the happineſs to be for ſeveral years acquainted with one, who was wife to the beſt and braveſt Citizen that ever lived; whom, tho' by conſtitution valetudinary, ſhe skillfully nurs'd to a good old age: till at laſt this excellent woman was ſeiz'd ſo violently by a fever, that, not being in a condition to order thoſe helps for her ſelf, ſhe was always ſo ready to afford others, a Phyſician was call'd, and ſhe dy'd univerſally lamented, nor did the truly deſtitute Sir ROBERT CLAYTON, for this was the man, long ſurvive his faithful companion and preſerver. That at preſent, SIR, I entertain ſtrong hopes of a perfect recovery, that I am able to ſend you this long Letter (written indeed by fits and ſtarts in my intervals of up-ſitting) is for the greateſt part owing to the proper things, and directions for uſing them, ſent me by a Lady, exemplarily tender of an infirm husband: and who, as in beauty and modeſty ſhe's inferior to none of her own Sex; ſo, in a clear underſtanding and an agreeable converſation, ſhe ſurpaſſes moſt of ours. I am likewiſe inform'd by very good hands, that the Dutcheſs of MARLBOROUGH (which I record to her Grace's honor, and will not be reckon'd the leaſt of her virtues) contributes more to the eaſe and relief of the never fame-dying Hero, her illuſtrious conſort, than all the aids of collegiate art; which, in ſuch mighty circumſtances, cou'd not poſſibly fail of being procur'd, were there in reality any thing of this kind effectual or certain. I wiſh ſome of this great Lady's family had never ſeen a Phyſician. So much of this ſubject for the preſent.

If any of the faculty ſhould chance to ſee my Letter, I know they would firſt make an arrogant grimace, as diſdaining one unskill'd in their profeſſion; and then pretend to anſwer it with an inſipid Jeſt, ſaying, that tho' I complain'd of being immoderately purg'd and vomited, I had not yet got rid of all my Bile. That is true: to let 'em ſee I know ſomething of the animal economy, tho' little of their juggling. Nevertheleſs, I do aſſure you, my old friend, that I never wrote any thing with more phlegm in my whole life; which thoſe facetious Gentlemen may be ready enough to allow, tho' in a different ſenſe from you. But I care as little what they ſay, as they do what becomes of their Patients: and if they provoke me (as CICERO ſaid of the Petty-foggers of Rome, who reproach'd him with not underſtanding the quirks and chicanery of the Law) I ſhall in three days become no leſs maſter of their legerdemain and jargon, than the beſt of themſelves. This, however, would be throwing away too much time by any, that ſcorn'd to make uſe of it to the ſame vile purpoſes. A nobler task attends me: for I ſhall ſtudy Nature hereafter with regard to the body of man, in her own way and for my own preſervation, as the beſt Philoſophers were antiently wont: there being nothing more pleaſant than ſo uſeful an amuſement, very conſiſtent with other occupations. This I was always inclin'd to do, having early aſſiſted at two courſes of Anatomy, after being tolerably initiated into Botany: but I was diverted from ſo good a reſolution, I know not how. The Craft I abhorr'd, the Skill I admired; herein preciſely of my Author's mind, who ſays, that *the antients did not condemn the thing, but the trade.*

While I am comforting my ſelf with theſe ſage ideas, you are buſily retrieving your loſſes by the villanous execution of a late execrable Scheme. Long may you enjoy health for your own ſake, and that of your lovely family. But as I heartily intereſt my ſelf in whatever concerns you, ſo I particularly wiſh, you may never become the prey of thoſe mercileſs ſharks, I have been hitherto deſcribing: for were your purſe as large as your ſoul, it wou'd not ſuffice both for Doctors and Directors; and believe me, your body is as little to be truſted with the one, as your money with the other. By theſe you have loſt part of your wealth, and I part of my health by thoſe: wherefore let the caution be mutual, and be perſuaded that I am, Dear Sir, your moſt faithful friend, your moſt oblig'd and obedient Servant.

Putney, January
1721-2.

LETTERS.

To * * *

Oxford, Jan. 1694.

SIR,

I Got ſafe to Oxford, tho' not without frequent apprehenſions of being ſet upon by highway men; and indeed we narrowly eſcap'd, for the Coaches that came in next after us, and they ſay thoſe of Monday before us, were all robb'd. I was ſo far from making any obſervations upon the country as I came along, that, as if I were never to know my way back again, I could not once look out, the weather was ſo tempeſtuous. One of the Fellows of New College, a violent partiſan of the Clergy, happen'd to be my fellow traveller, of whom in that ſmall time, as occaſional diſcourſes favour'd me, I inform'd my ſelf of the abilities, genius, and diſpoſition of the Doctors. The place is very pleaſant, the Colleges are exceeding fine, and

I muſt

I muſt confeſs I never ſaw ſo much of the air of an Univerſity before. I ly under great obligations to the Gentlemen who recommended me, both for the advantageous Character they were pleas'd to beſtow upon me, and the ſuitable reception I met with: Mr. CREECH in particular has been extraordinary civil to me, and did me the honor to recommend three or four of the moſt ingenious men in the Univerſity to my acquaintance, who accordingly viſited me. The like did Dr. MILL and Mr. KENNET. This I look upon as very obliging, and ſo I take it, but it is very troubleſome, and ſomewhat à la mode de France: for I am put into as great agonies as Sir LIONEL JENKINS to anſwer the expectations of thoſe grand Virtuoſos; eſpecially ſome of their Antiquaries, and Linguiſts who ſaluted me with peals of barbarous ſounds and obſolete words, and I in return ſpent upon them all my Anglo-Saxon and old Britiſh Etymologies; which I hope gave them abundant ſatisfaction: Hebrew and Iriſh, I hope, will bear me out for ſome weeks, and then I'll be pretty well furniſh'd from the Library, into which I was ſworn and admitted yeſterday only: for it was not to be done, without being firſt propos'd in Congregation. This is the reaſon, SIR, that I have not ſooner written to you, having no account to give of my ſelf. For the future, I'll endeavour frequently to acquaint you with ſomething more entertaining than what concerns my ſelf; tho' if I cou'd underſtand what it is you moſt eſteem, I ſhou'd particularly ſtudy to give you ſatisfaction: with whatever elſe I can think may convince you, that I am not a little proud of the honor my friends did me, in making me known to ſo conſiderable and ingenious a perſon; and that I am very ſenſible of your goodneſs in contributing to make my life more eaſy, and my ſtudies more free. I beg you, SIR, to acquaint Mr. FREKE as ſoon as you ſee him with the contents, whoſe care and favour I ſhall always endeavour to deſerve: looking upon him as the primum mobile of my happineſs. I forgot to tell you that Mr. CREECH is publiſhing *Lucretius* in Latin, with a Paraphraſe and Commentary, and *Manilius* in Engliſh Verſe, which will be nothing inferior to Lucretius. Dr. MILL has already communicated his Teſtament to me, and others ſent me ſeveral Books, I only inquir'd after, without any deſign of making bold ſo ſoon to borrow; all which I attribute to the reſpect they owe their friends. I am conveniently and pretty reaſonably lodg'd at Mr. Bodington's over againſt all Souls College, to which place all my Letters and Pacquets are to be directed.

FOR

Mr. TOLAND.

Oxford, May 4, 1694.

Mr. Toland,

THE Character you bear in Oxford is this; that you are a man of fine parts, great learning, and little religion.

Whither or no this be your juſt Character, I cannot ſay; but this I can ſay, and am aſſur'd of, that if it be, 'tis your higheſt intereſt to reflect ſeriouſly upon the matter, and to endeavour betimes to deſerve a better. This is the whole occaſion of my writing to you; and I entreat you to receive it as it is meant.

'Tis the conſtant voice of the Holy Scriptures; and there is nothing more agreeable to our common reaſon, than that much ſhould be requir'd of him to whom much is committed: you are ſenſible (I believe) that you have receiv'd a great deal; it lies at your door to employ it ſo, as to be able to give up a good accompt to him, from whom you receiv'd it, at the laſt day.

'Twould be a very grievous and bitter thought, when you lay upon your death-bed (and thither one day you muſt come; God only knows how ſoon) to conſider that your parts, and your knowledge, which, if employ'd in the ſervice of your maker, and to the benefit of mankind, might have entitled you to a nobler ſhare of happineſs and glory; ſhall not only be of no advantage to you, but ſhall infinitely enhanſe and augment your condemnation.

Popular eſteem, the applauſes of a Coffee-houſe, or of a Club of prophane Wits, are mean, unworthy ends; and which a man of underſtanding is aſham'd to ſtoop for: they are too ſlender to ſatisfy at the preſent; and 'tis certain they can yield us no comfort when we ſhall have moſt need of it.

But the diſcharge of our duty, and a good conſcience, are a never-failing ſpring of pleaſure: and what mighty advances may a man make in virtue, if ſuch abilities as God hath been pleaſed to bleſs you with, were directed into a right channel?

Think not, Sir, that I ſpeak thus to draw you over to a party; as though Religion either feared an ingenious adverſary, or needed a learned advocate: no, (bleſſed be God) ſhe ſtands firm upon a rock, and 'tis not within the power of the eager malice of Devils, much leſs of the vain tongues of wicked men, to overthrow her: neither doth God need the ſervice of any man; he, who ordains ſtrength *ex ore infantum*, can work his ends, and maintain his own cauſe, without the concurrence of human wiſdom or policy.

No. Believe me, I am concern'd for your ſake: methinks, 'tis ten thouſand pities that any one ſhould freely chooſe to be eternally wretched, or but moderately happy, into whoſe hands God hath put the means of purchaſing an exceeding weight of Glory; and whom he ſeems to have deſigned to be a veſſel of honour.

All that I can do to you, is to entreat you by the love you bear your own Soul, to weigh impartially the evidences, and the conſequences of the Chriſtian Religion: if its evidences convince you not of its reality, I muſt pity your blindneſs; but if they do, then I am ſure its conſequences are ſuch as muſt either allure or frighten him that is not either very diſingenuous, or very ſtupid. The genuine iſſue of this reflection, will be an hearty reſolution of embracing the plain eaſy duties enjoined in the Goſpel: which, as it is the only ſure grounds upon which we may expect Salvation hereafter, ſo is it the true foundation of peace and ſatisfaction in this world: every ſtep we tread, before we have, in ſome meaſure, ſecur'd our peace with Heaven, is infinitely hazardous, and ſuch as fleſh and blood could not bear the proſpect of, were our eyes open. God who made you, and hath ſo richly bleſſed you, of his great mercy, bleſs you yet farther, and make you become an happy inſtrument of his Glory. Amen.

Dear SIR, I remain your hearty well-wiſher and real (though unknown) friend and ſervant,

A—— A——

FOR

Mr. TOLAND.

Oxford, May 7, 1694.

Dear Mr. TOLAND,

I Hear that you have received a Note of the 4th inſtant, which was ordered to be left for you at Nan's Coffee-houſe: I hear alſo with what acceptance you entertain it; you ſay, the Letter has nothing in it immodeſt or uncivil; but you cannot believe that he who wrote it intended you any kindneſs by it, becauſe he ſent it unſeal'd and to a publick houſe.

Now to this, I ſay, that ſuppoſing the Letter to be modeſt and civil; it ſeems more equitable to impute any miſcarriage or accidental indecency in its delivery, to indiſcretion, rather than lack of kindneſs.

For, alas! had he intended to defame you, how eaſy had it been to have pitch'd upon a more natural and likely means of procuring it, than the directing a Letter to your own hand? it being highly improbable that, if any thing were found there tending to your diſparagement, you your ſelf ſhould have divulged it.

No, aſſure your ſelf, Dear Sir, he who wrote it, meant you no harm, but rather the contrary; and if, through any accident, the matter went farther than his own, and your breaſt, 'tis quite beſide his intention.

That excellent ſweet-tempered Religion, which he entreats you to look towards, and embrace; as it obliges its followers to love all men, ſo it forbids them to defame or upbraid any: and I am ſure, that he who ſent you that Letter, would willingly put his hands under your feet, to do you any real ſervice.

The true reaſon of his ſending it to the Coffee-houſe, was becauſe he knew not your lodgings; and to have enquired for them might occaſionally have diſcovered, what he deſigns to conceal.

The cauſe of his ſending it unſealed, was a dependance upon the general integrity of mankind in this particular; ariſing from the odium which attends buſy-bodies; and chiefly thoſe who examine other mens papers.

In ſhort, whether you believe him your friend or your enemy; he paſſionately deſires you to lay to heart what he has ſaid. If he be an enemy, you will ſufficiently revenge your ſelf upon him, by diſappointing him of all occaſion of reproaching you: if he be a friend, you will abundantly gratify him, by letting him ſee the good effects of the travel of his ſoul: but, above all, by that means you will be a true friend to your ſelf. Dear SIR, farewell, and may the bleſſing of God always attend you.

Dear SIR, I muſt beg one favour of you. The ſtory runs thus; that a Letter was left at the Coffee-houſe with this Superſcription, *For Mr.* TOLAND'S *peruſal.* Now, I confeſs, this inſcription ſeems to promiſe ſomewhat ſcurrilous and reflective: but you who know that this is falſe, may do me thus much juſtice, as to ſatisfy thoſe you may ſpeak with concerning it, that 'twas inſcribed otherwiſe.

Mr. TOLAND's
ANSWER.

SIR,

IF I knew your perſon as much as I honour your merit, the ſtile of my Letter ſhould, it may be, better ſuit your quality and ſtation: but I am perſuaded by the extraordinary temper of yours, that a ſincere Anſwer is the greateſt reſpect I can pay you. The grave and ſerious advice you condeſcend to give me, with this fair opportunity of vindicating my ſelf from all indecent aſperſions, cannot but oblige me to the higheſt pitch of gratitude. I bleſs God, that in this looſe and ſceptical age, there remains ſo much of the truly primitive ſpirit as the genuine fruits of it expreſs in you. Indeed, your cloſe and perſpicuous arguments, ſo candidly manag'd, and ſo properly apply'd, could not well miſs their effect upon any ingenuous man, under my ſuppos'd circumſtances; but I heartily wiſh I could as juſtly claim the firſt two parts of the character, you ſay, I bear in Oxford, as I really abhor the laſt. You ſeem, SIR, to ſpeak more of me from the diſcourſes of others than any perſonal knowledge, and you are not ignorant how cautiouſly we ſhould receive the informations of any, till we learn the intereſts and inclinations of both the parties. Had I the happineſs of your acquaintance, which I paſſionately deſire, I could quickly convince you that the irreligion laid to my charge, is as much owing to the malice of my enemies, as the reputation of parts and learning to the goodneſs of my friends. Neither have I receiv'd ſo much as you think, tho' more than I deſerve, and enough to render every neglect of my duty inexcuſable.

I am ſenſible all my actions ſhould be calculated for the glory of God, and the good of my country. To become more capable of anſwering theſe ends, is the true reaſon of the ſtay I make for ſome time in this famous Univerſity. And further than they contribute towards this deſign, neither the exceeding agreeableneſs of the place, nor the improving converſation of the members ſhould be to me any attractives. But to what purpoſe ſhould I ſtudy here or elſewhere, were I an Atheiſt or Deiſt, for one of the two you take me to be? What a contradiction to mention Virtue if I believ'd there was no God, or one ſo impotent that could not, or ſo malicious that would not reveal himſelf? Nay, tho' I granted a Deity, yet if nothing of me ſubſiſted after death, what laws could bind, what incentives could move me to common honeſty? Annihilation would be a ſanctuary for all my ſins, and put an end to my crimes with my ſelf. Believe me, I am not ſo indifferent to the evils of the preſent life; but, without the expectation of a better, I ſhould ſoon ſuſpend the mechaniſm of my body, and reſolve into inconſcious atoms. Now if I am perſuaded our Souls are immortal and reſponſible for their actions, to be eternally happy or miſerable in a future ſtate, I muſt be neceſſarily of ſome Religion: and I preſume you will readily acknowledge it to be the Chriſtian, when I aſſure you, that

" I. I firmly believe the exiſtence of an " infinitely good, wiſe and powerful Being, " which in our language we call God, ſub" ſtantially different from the Univerſe he " created, and continues to govern by his " Providence; of whom, through whom, " and to whom are all things.

" II. Concerning Christ in particular, " I believe that he is God manifeſt in the " fleſh, or true God and Man, perfectly united " without contrariety of will, or confuſion of " eſſence. As to his human nature, that " according to the Prophets, he was born " of a pure Virgin, conceived by virtue of " the divine Spirit, and therefore ever free " from all the ſinful diſorders of fallen man. " That he roſe from the dead the third " day after he was crucify'd by the Jews, and " forty days after aſcended into Heaven, " from whence I expect his coming at the laſt " day to judge me and all the world: and " that when he was on earth he not only by

“ his life gave us a perfect example, and by
“ his Doctrine an infallible rule of all that
“ we are to do, ſuffer and hope; but alſo
“ by the ſacrifice of his death, reconcil'd to
“ mercy all ſuch as do the will of his Father,
“ particularly thoſe that believe his word,
“ imitate his works, and accept his inter-
“ ceſſion. That as well the holy adult de-
“ ceaſed before his paſſion, as children dy-
“ ing before the uſe of reaſon, are deliver'd
“ from death by his merits, ſo that none
“ can be ſav'd without a Mediator. And
“ laſtly, that he is the only Ruler and Legiſla-
“ tor of the Church.

“ III. I believe we are ſanctify'd by the
“ divine Spirit, who worketh in us, and with
“ us, who directs and perfects us. I acknow-
“ ledge the purity, excellence and obliga-
“ tion of all the evangelical precepts, as they
“ are comprehended under theſe three heads,
“ to live temperately, juſtly, and piouſly; to
“ love God above all things, and my neigh-
“ bour as my ſelf. This is the ſum of my
“ aſſurance of eternal life, in hopes where-
“ of I am now writing this unfeign'd Con-
“ feſſion of my Faith.

Whoever conſents to theſe Articles, and receives the Scriptures for the word of God, is my brother in CHRIST, let him think of me or denominate himſelf as he pleaſes. I will not contend with any about dubious or obſcure points, and I do not ſo much regard frivolous matters, how ſuperſtitiouſly ſoever cry'd up by ſome, as to erect them into terms of Communion. I dare not confine the Church to the narrow limits of a peculiar Sect, or her Doctrines to the affected phraſes of a Party; and becauſe the Goſpel teacheth us mutual forbearance and the love of our enemies, I would not be ſuſpected to favour thoſe I cannot abuſe with unſeemly heat, much leſs queſtion the truth of what I hold unlawful to impoſe. No man can believe as he liſts, and 'tis not juſt any ſhould ſay what he thinks not. All that we have to do is charitably to inſtruct, and if we can, convince the erroneous. We may pray for the obſtinate, and perſiſt in our endeavours, but further we have no commiſſion. They have as great an intereſt to ſave their own Souls, as we to encourage them to it: and if they ſlight our exhortations, we muſt leave them to God. The civil Society cannot be injur'd by this Toleration, whilſt all irregular practices are puniſhable by the Magiſtrate; nor would I defend it, did I ſee the ſin or the danger: ſo far am I from making it a ſhelter to Atheiſm and indifference, as my ill-wiſhers give out.

Sir, I hope by this time I have ſatisfy'd your pious concern about my everlaſting happineſs, and the evidence of that Religion, whereof, tho' I cannot pretend to be an ingenious, or a learned advocate, I ſhall always, according to my poor abilities, prove a faithful and a zealous one. I give you a thouſand thanks for the pains you have taken about me in your two excellent Letters, which I ſhall ſtill preſerve and value. I am certain you intended me no hurt by them, which I may not ſay of thoſe who ſuggeſted the unworthy thought. 'Tis true I was ſurpriz'd with the circumſtances; yet never ſuſpected your good intentions.

Things reflecting upon yours and my integrity were diſcourſed about the firſt Letter, which made me communicate it to ſeveral but in vain; for the malice of ſome Jacobites, who envy me common charity, proclaims my ſelf the Author. This honor I'm ſure is undeſign'd, as the palpable abſurdity that I ſhould purchaſe a few commendations of courſe, at the expence of what is moſt laudable among men. But this is not the only time I have been groſly miſrepreſented by theſe Gentlemen, tho' ordinarily their efforts have contrary effects. At my firſt coming, they thought to frighten me with that terrible thing of a Commonwealth, an artifice I look'd upon deſpis'd, and forgotten as the incenſe of arbitrary power which they offer'd to the late Kings. But when they perceiv'd I was nothing ſhy of owning the true Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, however baſely nick-nam'd by ſome of its degenerate ſubjects, they made a mighty noiſe about the Church, and falſly reported that I did not frequent the public worſhip from which they voluntarily ſeparate themſelves. Now they make my aſſiduity a fault for reaſons as groundleſs as pitiful, ſo implacable is their ſpirit! But theſe miſerable tricks not taking with the learned and the wiſe, they ſhifted ſcenes, and made me next an accompliſh'd Conjurer for ridiculing Necromancy, and the ſecond Sight. A ſimple ſtory was whiſper'd of the amazing feats I had done, which a worthy friend gave me occaſion to expoſe to the diverſion of the company, and the relator's diſgrace. Well, if Magic won't do, Hereſy muſt. I am a dangerous Anti-Trinitarian, for having often publickly declared that I could as ſoon digeſt a wooden, or breaden Deity, as adore a created ſpirit or a dignified man. This Socinianiſm and Arianiſm are, one would think, very orthodox.

Sir, theſe are few of the numerous inſtances I can produce of my adverſaries unchriſtian hatred, which I pray God to forgive, as I do. Did they but mind their own buſineſs as much as I ſlight what they ſay of me, they would afford the Coffee-houſe better entertainment. 'Tis to undeceive you and the reſt of my honored friends, whoſe favours I thankfully acknowledge, that I have writ this Anſwer. I was a while ſomewhat backward to do it, leſt any ſhould imagine I minded our State Enthuſiaſts, but at length their clamours extorted it. I'm confident you'll do me that juſtice I expect, and becomes you, tho' I dare not flatter my ſelf with the hopes of your more deſireable acquaintance. Had you given me any Direction, you ſhould have ſeen this Anſwer before I receiv'd your ſecond obliging Letter; wherefore I entreat you, if this comes to your hand, not to forget this point the next time. I am, SIR, your much oblig'd, and moſt humble Servant.

FOR

Mr. TOLAND.

Oxford, *May* 30, 1694.

SIR,

SOME time laſt week, I got the ſight of a Letter which you left at the Coffee-houſe for your Friend A. A. and it being intended for a vindication of your Character, from the falſe and malicious aſperſions of your ill-wiſhers, I am glad that I never found means of getting it into my hands ſecurely, before it was open'd: for I ſhould never have been able to have done you half the juſtice, which the timely appearance of this Paper in publick hath done.

I am ſorry that you ſhould think, that I miſtook you for an Atheiſt or a Deiſt: by the character of *little Religion*, I meant no more than this: that you were one who dealt ſomewhat too freely with it, a man of an aſpiring and uncontrouled reaſon, a great contemner of Credulity, and particularly an undervaluer of the two extraordinary Cures, wrought lately at London: theſe do not immediately prove a man an Atheiſt; though, I confeſs, I was always apt to think, that they generally proceed from ſome degree of infidelity in the heart, which by a little indulgence may eaſily grow into an hatred and contempt of Religion; and thence inſenſibly diſpoſe the mind for Socinianiſm, Deiſm, Atheiſm, or any thing: but however, I am concern'd at it the leſs, ſince you acknowledge ſome have been endeavouring to faſten a bad Character on you; and you have hence taken occaſion to refute all Calumnies.

In the Letter you load me with much honor, much more than I expected, or deſerve; in thoſe who never ſaw my Letters, this raiſes an opinion that ſomething is in them very extraordinary; but to thoſe who have ſeen them, and to my ſelf, 'tis an argument of great candour in you, who can love truth in ſo plain a dreſs: the abhorrence you expreſs for Atheiſm, and your deſcanting upon it, even to the awakening the Civil power againſt it, give me grounds to believe that you have no real kindneſs for it: your concern for the looſeneſs and ſcepticiſm of this age, inclines me to hope that you are neither prophanely nor ſceptically given; your ſo free declaration of your Faith, makes me think you an Orthodox believer; and your ſenſe of the obligation of the Chriſtian duties, and your reſolves of appearing in the behalf of Religion, confirm me, that you are, and deſign to continue a very good Chriſtian.

For, why ſhould I not acquieſce in theſe tokens of ſincerity? I confeſs, I hate a diſtruſtful narrow temper, which is jealous and ſuſpicious of all mankind; 'tis, methinks, a diſparagement to our common nature, when we refuſe to think well of another, till it's impoſſible to think otherwiſe, and is the very ſcepticiſm we condemn. No, I truſt, Sir, you are in good earneſt, and would not play with your ſoul's happineſs: and I doubt not, but you will ſoon make many be of my mind; for Religion is no lifeleſs thing, but when once it hath taken root in the heart, (which is its proper ſoil) as a tree planted in the fertile valley, or (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) by the water-ſide, it cannot fail to bring forth its fruits, its genuine, undoubted, diſtinguiſhing fruits, in due ſeaſon.

And though God, who diſpoſes and cultivates the heart, alone knows the time of its harveſt, yet in man's judgment, no ſeaſon can be more proper for its producing a plentiful crop, than while the underſtanding is mature, and in its full ſtrength, the mind freſh and impregnated with the dews and ſhowers of God's grace, and moreover adorn'd with all outward accompliſhments; than while the body is healthy and ſtrong, and in a vigorous capacity of miniſtring unto the ſoul. This is the ſeaſon, in which men expect that a noble ſoil ſhould yield much fruit to be treaſur'd up in ſtore againſt a day of calamity, againſt the day of ſickneſs, old-age, and death: and I am fully perſuaded, that if a few generous ſpirits would ſtedfaſtly reſolve to employ their rich endowments in the ſervice of the donor, but eſpecially praiſe him with the tongues which he hath given them; to ſtem the flood of impiety, and appear boldly in the behalf of virtue; ſhewing as well the lovelineſs of being vertuous, as the baſeneſs and raſcality of being wicked; and ſtudy ſeriouſly to engage all they converſe with in that reaſonable courſe, which alone, can render them happy here, and glorious hereafter; we ſhould ſoon ſee a bleſſed change upon the earth, ſin being by degrees extirpated, we might make ſome approach to our former Paradiſaical ſtate; in the language of the Prophet, inſtead of the Thorn, would come up the Firr-tree, and inſtead of the Brier, would come up the Myrtle-tree: millions of ſouls (each of them better than the whole periſhing world) might be reſcu'd from deſtruction, and entitl'd to glory; and the happy undertakers themſelves, be aſſur'd of ſhining as the brightneſs in the firmament, as the ſtars for ever and ever: and oh! that God would touch the hearts of ſome, who are fitted for this work, with the alone truly laudable ambition of becoming exceedingly beneficial to this world, and exceedingly happy in the next!

Dear SIR, I run out into this ſubject, as well, becauſe my hopes of the good ſucceſs of ſuch an attempt (through God's bleſſing) are very ſtrong and lively, (for I know that in reality, nothing is ſo arrant a coward as vice, and nothing is ſo forcible as reaſon and love) as likewiſe, becauſe 'tis commonly reported, that you are at preſent upon a work, which I fear will not prove half ſo advantageous to yourſelf or others: 'tis ſaid, that you are now publiſhing a piece with intent to ſhew, that there is no ſuch thing as a *Myſtery* in our Religion; but that every thing in it is ſubjicible to our underſtandings. I confeſs, I do not foreſee what good influence it would derive upon our practice, if all the deep and hidden things of God lay open to the meaneſt capacities (and there is no better argument with me, that the knowledge of them would be of no great uſe unto us, than that they lye ſo very deep) but that ever they ſhould be thus laid open to men in theſe bodies, I freely own, I think next to impoſſible. Myſteries, 'tis true, are reveal'd to the meek, and it may be the peculiar reward of ſome very humble perſons, to be admitted to behold ſome things within the veil: but then I am perſuaded, that whatever they ſee there, is of the ſame nature with St. PAUL'S Αῤῥητὰ; it cannot, it need not be utter'd unto others. If you are really engag'd in ſuch a work, 'twould be folly in me to think of diverting you from it, by any thing which I can ſay; let me only beg you to run over a book, entitl'd, *The Cauſes of the Decay of Chriſtian Piety*, a piece of the ſame lineage and integrity with the *Whole Duty of Man*, in which, among other melancholy truths, the great miſchief of ingenious perſons applying the choiceſt abilities to ſuch ſort of purpoſes, is pathetically lamented.

Dear SIR, pardon, I beſeech you, the great freedom I uſe with you, I am unknown to you, and therefore am the freer; though I confeſs, I think that ſome degree of this freedom would do no great harm in common converſation. I earneſtly deſire of you to let no man ſee this. You gave ſome reaſons which oblig'd you to impart my other, I ſee no ends which you can ſerve by diſcloſing this; let me entreat you therefore, by the kindneſs which you ſay you bear me, not to let this go any farther than your ſelf. As to the perſonal knowledge, which you ſay, you could wiſh; I aſſure you it can be of no uſe to you, and it may be very prejudicial to my ſelf, upon divers accounts; otherwiſe you may imagine I ſhould not eaſily decline your ſo valuable an offerture: 'tis not any ſeeming modeſty, but, indeed, real and neceſſary prudence which makes me ſtudy to be concealed.

Dear Sir, excuſe all the trouble I have created you, and particularly that of this weariſome Letter: the matter, I hear, has made ſome noiſe, and I am ſorry for it; all my comfort is, that I never intended it. Dear Sir, adieu.

I am
your real friend and ſervant.

TO
THE REVEREND Mr. ***.

London, *Sept.* 12, 1695.

Reverend Sir,

I Can ſend you no news foreign or domeſtick this poſt; and, which is the greater wonder, your Champions of the Commonwealth of Learning ſeem to have retir'd into winter-quarters too, for we never enjoy'd a more profound peace in this reſpect: either no enemy appears at all, or, if now and then one makes an incurſion, he meets with little or no oppoſition; except a Captain ANTONIO ventures abroad ſometimes to pick up his ſtraglers, and curſe him afar off, as SHIMEI did good King DAVID. So, you know, *the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity* was lately ſerv'd.

However, I can be no ſufferer by this ſilence of the Learned, as long as you are pleaſed to honor me with your correſpondence. You are the oracle I conſult about all my difficulties, and from which I never miſs of ſatisfaction. What employs my thoughts at preſent may ſeem a great Paradox; but, unleſs your anſwer can make it in good earneſt appear one to me, the world is like to have it one time or other for ſound Divinity.

The Subject is the *Book of Job.* After proving it, with others, more antient than the writings of MOSES, and ſhewing it to be a real Hiſtory and no Parable, contrary to the ſentiments of the Jews and a modern author; I diſcover the true Quality and Country of JOB, the nobleſt pattern on record of a mind truly divine, endu'd with the moſt finiſh'd wiſdom and reſolution. So far, you'll ſay, all goes very well. But further, I endeavour to make it appear in particular (for none before me, as I know, ever dreamt of any ſuch thing) that only the Dialogue between JOB and his three Friends is the genuine Book, beginning at verſe the ſecond, of chapter the third, and ending at the laſt verſe of chapter the thirty firſt, according to our common diviſion. Then I prove the Relation preceding this Dialogue, as an Argument to the Piece, wherein ſuch odd, if not impoſſible, paſſages are told of Satan and the Sons of God, of JOB himſelf, his wife, his children and friends, to be a meer Fable made by ſome idle Jew; who, finding the Hero of this excellent Poem labouring under the greateſt afflictions, thought pity the particulars ſhou'd be unknown: and ſo by a liberty ordinary to the Rabbins, invented that monſtrous Story, tho' without any ſufficient ground for it, from JOB's complaint and defence, or the reproaches and arguments of his Friends. I make the ſame account not only of the latter part of the laſt chapter, but alſo of the foregoing chapters, from the xxxii incluſively. And that ſame ELIHU the ſon of BARACHEL, who takes ſo much upon him in thoſe chapters, I ſhall demonſtrate to be the undoubted Author of all the Additions.

But tho' it be not my intention to give you the detail of my reaſons for this Paradox, yet I would have you conſider, that the moſt part of what I call in queſtion, is penn'd in very dull and negligent proſe; whereas the native beauties of the Dialogue appear even through the verſion, which is all rimed verſe, according to the genius of the Eaſtern Poetry.

The Dialogue too is full of Arabiſms, which help us to diſcover the original; but no ſuch thing appears in the additions of the Hebrew Tranſlator.

And to compleat all, I ſhew by the beſt Memoirs that any perſon can deſire, what was Job's true ſtate, or the occaſion of thoſe Complaints, ſo pathetically expreſs'd in this admirable piece.

All that I requeſt of you, Sir, is, by the ſtrongeſt reaſons you can think on, to ſhew me any impoſſibility in ſuch a performance; and if no better occur to you, let me have all the negative difficulties you can make.

Sir,

I am

your unalterable friend and ſervant.

A
CONSOLATORY LETTER

To the honorable

Sir *ROBERT CLAYTON*, Kt.

Formerly Sheriff, afterwards Lord Mayor, and ſtill Alderman of London.

London Decemb. 4, 1698.

SIR,

THE paſſions are ſuch an eſſential part of our conſtitution, and ſo inſeparably united to our underſtanding, that on this account they are commonly term'd *natural affections*; nor is there any part of our fabrick wherein the effects of divine wiſdom are more viſible and obvious; ſeeing that to have all our members ſo wonderfully accommodated to their ſeveral uſes would ſignify little, if we wanted the paſſions of joy and grief, or the ſenſations of pain and pleaſure, which are the primary ſprings and motives of all our deſires and actions. Herein therefore the excellence or depravation of our mind appears, according as reaſon governs our paſſions, or we ſuffer the paſſions to corrupt our reaſon. An inclination to eating and drinking (for example) is very natural, and abſolutely neceſſary for our preſervation; but he, that conſiders no further than the pleaſing and inviting taſt of the meat or liquor, acts unnaturally: while another, who meaſures his appetite by a ſufficient nouriſhment and ſupport for his body, anſwers the deſign of God in planting theſe deſires within him. In like manner, to grieve or be afflicted for the loſs of any thing which in it ſelf we count amiable and worthy, or pleaſing and profitable to us in particular, is natural and juſt; for without this affection we ſhould not ſufficiently value theſe bleſſings, or be enough ſollicitous to cultivate and preſerve them: but on the other hand, ſo to let looſe our paſſions on ſuch doleful occaſions as to ſet no bounds to our ſorrow, and to deſpair of all other comforts at once, becauſe we have loſt any ſimple object of our felicity, is both unreaſonable and defenceleſs.

Now, conſidering that the firſt motions of our paſſions are generally too violent to hear advice; and that indeed this impetuous torrent of the ſpirits is nothing ſo dangerous to our bodily health or intellectual faculties, as the melancholy and ſolitary thoughts that ſucceed (theſe being of a longer continuance and of a more pineing nature) I thought fit, Sir, to ſpeak very little to you at the beginning concerning the early death of your moſt hopeful Nephew, and to write nothing at all on this ſubject (which I count not ſo much your private loſs, as that of the publick in a uſeful Citizen) till your mind ſhould be leſs diſturb'd, or your firſt tranſports well allay'd. And I muſt acknowledge that I was greatly pleaſed to perceive with how much decency and true manlineſs you behav'd your ſelf on this occaſion; tho', for preventing the fatal conſequences of future penſiveneſs, I take the liberty at this time of laying a few conſiderations before you. I knew the young Gentleman well when we ſtudied at Oxford together, and valu'd him both for his perſonal merit and the hope I conceiv'd of his ability to ſerve his Country in ſome eminent ſtation.

This makes, not me alone, but all his other acquaintance to be deeply ſenſible of our loſs in him; and therefore to be companions with you (tho' not on equal terms) in ſorrow. But permit me to tell you, SIR, that of all others you have in my opinion the leaſt reaſon to torment your ſelf. That men are born mortal, every body knows, how few ſoever ſeem to conſider it; for by many of their actions one would think they were certain of immortality here on earth. Nor are they leſs convinc'd that the whole courſe of life is ſubject to infinite changes and accidents, which by their ſudden or unforeſeen effects always confound the weak and vitious, but never catch the honeſt and wiſe unprepar'd; for a virtuous man of good underſtanding is placed above all the chances of fortune; becauſe he conſtantly expects them, and is never diſpleaſed but with the ill of others or his own frailties, which he labors to conquer and reform. Moſt people will agree likewiſe that we ſhould not bear thoſe things heavily, which we can by no means avoid; and the experience of all ages muſt perſuade us that we can neither by poverty or pain, by ſlavery or diſgrace, nor even by death it ſelf, ſuffer any thing new or unuſual; which reflection alone ſhould teach us to live content with that condition wherein we are born.

But theſe arguments of Conſolation, tho' very good and ſolid in themſelves, are yet common to you, Sir ROBERT, with the reſt of mankind. You have little reaſon in particular to impair your health, or to leſſen the tranquillity of your mind by abandoning your ſelf to fruitleſs mourning, when you ſeriouſly conſider that after having rais'd your fortune ſolely by your own merit and induſtry (without loſing your honor or reputation by any indirect and criminal methods of growing rich) you had the happineſs of ſerving your country in the moſt publick capacity, as well in this City, as in the honourable Houſe of Commons; and that in the moſt dangerous times, but yet with the greateſt applauſe: that you ſtill aſſiſt in the government of the greateſt, freeſt, and moſt powerful City in the world, where you are univerſally eſteem'd, particularly dear to the beſt perſons, and that without your advice the moſt eminent of your fellow citizens will not adminiſter their own ſhare of the magiſtracy: that by publick and private charities, as well as by a generous and hoſpitable manner of living, you have ſhower'd the bleſſings of a plentiful eſtate the moſt agreeably to the will of heaven, the exigences of the needy, and the approbation of the beſt men: and that with all this you have neither neglected your own kindred, nor the relations of your excellent Lady, who all tenderly love and reverence you living, and will adore and bleſs your memory when dead: I ſay, when you conſider all this you ought to entertain a becoming ſatisfaction in your mind, and to contemn all the croſs accidents of the world.

When you further think on what you have done for that incomparable youth for whom you particularly deſtin'd a large ſhare of your eſtate, and in whoſe laudable actions your country might promiſe it ſelf as it were a continuation of your own life; how you gave him the liberal education of a Gentleman, and taught him the principles of true virtue, illuſtrated by your own example and that of other good men; you ought to be greatly pleaſed that nothing was wanting of your ſide. And when on the other hand, you remember how well he anſwer'd all your care and hopes, how temperate, how learn'd, and how judicious he was; how prudent in his travels, and how pious in rendering his ſoul to God who gave it, you have the higheſt reaſon to rejoice that ſo liv'd and died a perſon of the beſt accompliſhments attain'd thro' your beneficence and direction. Thus irreproachably to lead his life, deſervedly belov'd of every body; and thus to finiſh his courſe agreeable to the utmoſt perfection of nature, would certainly be hereafter, and has, no doubt, hitherto been the reſult of your deſires.

The only apology therefore left for your grief, muſt be, that he died ſooner than was good, for you or himſelf. But I have too great an opinion of your underſtanding to imagine you ſhould harbour any thought, which is not the leſs unreaſonable for being ſo common. A paſſage to immortality, and a perpetual union with the ſupreme Being cannot be reckon'd for his diſadvantage; and were there no ſenſation after death, he could not be reputed more miſerable than before he was born: nor would this argument for ſorrow be leſs cogent from the firſt moment of his nativity, ſince you might be ſure he muſt inevitably die ſome time or other. And as for you, I will not appear ſo diffident of your accuſtom'd wiſdom and gravity, as to ſuppoſe you ſhould now be wanting to your ſelf in making good the character you have hitherto obtain'd of conſtancy and firmneſs; or that you will expect that cure from length of time, which you ought ſpeedily to perform by your own reaſon. You have ſtill many opportunities of benefiting the world, you have the ſame means of doing good, and the ſame diſcernment to chuſe the propereſt objects of your charity or care. Inſtead of one family you may raiſe ſeveral, or prevent others from falling to decay; and by what you deſign'd to give that lovely young Gentleman alone, you can make the fortunes of many, who may prove to be the ornaments of their country, and will be the moſt glorious monuments of your piety, wiſdom, juſtice, liberality. But to one who ſo much exceeds me in age and underſtanding, to hint theſe things is ſufficient.

I ſhall be extremely pleaſed to learn that theſe lines have afforded you any pleaſure or conſolation; and if they ſhould not have all the effect I intended, yet I am ſatisfy'd that I did not fail of my Duty to ſerve a perſon whom all good men love, whom I particularly honor, and to whom I have ſo great obligations.

TO THE SAME.

London Decem. 7, 1698.

SIR,

AS thoſe who have not perform'd any worthy actions themſelves, think it impertinent that others ſhould be commended; ſo the panegyrics, which fear or favor draws from ſervile ſpirits on undeſerving perſons in corrupt times, occaſion all juſt praiſe to paſs for flattery. But in thoſe ages and places where liberty and learning equally flouriſh'd, every man's virtue had full juſtice done to it; nor were the moſt glorious rewards propos'd to merit half ſo effectual, as the diſtinguiſhing examples of brave or good men, to animate others with an emulation of their laudable actions. This manifeſtly appears in all the writings of the old Romans, particularly in the divine volumes of CICERO, where we meet with ſuch noble characters, and ſuch lovely pictures of his friends and cotemporaries, as may enflame the moſt inſenſible to glory or applauſe.

In imitation therefore of theſe perfect models, I wrote the Letter which I lately ſent to you, and wherein the chiefeſt topic of comfort was the conſideration of your own virtues. I ſend you now, as a juſtification of this uncommon way of writing, and as an additional argument or example, the Tranſlation of a Letter written upon the like occaſion to CICERO after the Death of his belov'd Daughter TULLIA, a Lady of extraordinary learning and merits. CICERO, tho' the moſt eminent philoſopher, politician, and orator in the world, was not proof againſt the firſt impreſſions of this misfortune: wherefore all the men of parts and quality that knew him, either came or ſent to comfort him. MARCUS BRUTUS ſent him a conſolatory Letter, which CICERO himſelf frequently commends; but it is ſince unhappily loſt. LUCIUS LUCCEIUS wrote another to him; JULIUS CÆSAR one, and at laſt he wrote a Conſolation to himſelf: but the only one remaining is that of SERVIUS SULPITIUS, which I here ſubjoin for your peruſal, wiſhing you long life and an uninterrupted happineſs.

SERVIUS SULPITIUS

TO

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

WHEN I was inform'd of your Daughter TULLIA's Death, I took it, as I ought, moſt grievouſly and heavily, eſteeming

ing it a common calamity. And if I had been there at that time, I had neither been wanting to you, nor yet have forborn to expreſs my grief in your preſence. Tho' this kind of Conſolation be miſerable and difficult, becauſe the relations and acquaintance, who ought to afford it, are themſelves afflicted with the ſame ſorrow, and cannot endeavour to do it without many tears; inſomuch that they may ſeem rather to want being comforted by others, than to be able to perform this good office to any elſe: notwithſtanding, what things offer themſelves at preſent to my mind I determin'd to write to you briefly; not that I think you ignorant of them, but that being hindred by your grief you may perhaps obſerve 'em the leſs.

Wherefore then ſhould you be mov'd at that rate by your private ſorrow? Conſider how fortune has dealt with us hitherto: and how all thoſe things are taken away from us, which ought not to be leſs dear to men than their children; I mean our Country, our Reputation, our Dignity, and all our Honors? What could be added then to our affliction by this one misfortune? or how can a mind diſquieted with theſe things not grow callous, and ſet a lower value on all other matters? But if (as I ſuppoſe) you lament her caſe, how often muſt you have hit on this thought, and I have not ſeldom done it, that in theſe times their fate is not the worſt, who may without much pain exchange their life for death? Now, what was it that could ſo greatly invite her to live at this time? what thing? what expectation? what pleaſure of mind? Is it that ſhe might ſpend her days in marriage with any of the principal youth? as I believe a perſon of your figure may pick and chuſe a ſon-in-law among our young men, to whoſe care you might ſafely commit your daughter. Or is it that ſhe might bear children, whom ſhe would rejoice to ſee in their prime? who could wiſely preſerve the eſtate receiv'd from their parents? who ſhould in their turns ſtand candidates for honorable poſts in the government? who ſhould make uſe of their liberty in the ſervice of their friends? Now, which of all theſe was not taken away before it was given?

But you'll ſay it is a misfortune to loſe our Children. A misfortune indeed, if it be not worſt to be always afflicted and ſuffering on this account. What afforded me no ſmall conſolation I ſhall impart to you; for perhaps the ſame thing may contribute to diminiſh your grief. In my return from Aſia, as I ſail'd from Ægina towards Megara I begun to view all the regions on every hand of me; behind me was Ægina, Megara before me, on my right hand Piræus, and Corinth on my left; which cities were once in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate, tho' now they lye ſcatter'd, and mangl'd in ruins before you.

Thus I begun therefore to meditate with my ſelf: *Alas! why ſhould we poor men be diſpleas'd that any of our number dyes or is kill'd, whoſe life is naturally ſhort; when the carcaſſes of ſo many cities lye expos'd in one place! Do thou therefore refrain thy ſelf, O Servius, and remember thou art born a man.* Believe me, I was not a little confirm'd by this thought. Do you likewiſe, if it ſeems good, ſet the ſame thing before your eyes. Lately ſo many famous perſons were deſtroy'd at once; beſides our Empire is ſo greatly diminiſh'd; all the Provinces are ſhaken, and are you ſo vehemently diſturb'd at the death of one woman, who, if ſhe had not departed now, muſt have dy'd notwithſtanding within a few years, ſeeing ſhe was born of human race?

Recall therefore your mind from theſe things to the knowledge of your ſelf, and rather remember thoſe matters that are becoming your perſon; namely, that ſhe liv'd as long as it was needful for her, and expir'd together with the Commonwealth: that ſhe ſaw you her father, a Prætor, a Conſul, an Augur: that ſhe was marry'd to a couple of our hopefulleſt young Gentlemen: that ſhe had enjoy'd almoſt every good thing in the world: and left this life when our government was deſtroy'd. What is it then wherein you or ſhe can in this reſpect complain of fortune? Finally, do not forget that you are CICERO, and he that was wont to comfort and adviſe others: nor imitate bad Phyſicians, who profeſs great skill in the diſeaſes of others, and cannot cure themſelves; but rather call to your mind and propoſe to your ſelf, what you are accuſtom'd in the like caſes to preſcribe other people.

There is no grief but length of time diminiſhes and ſoftens; but for you to expect ſuch a time, and not rather find a remedy for this matter from your own prudence, is unworthy. But if the very dead have any ſenſe of our condition, ſuch was the love ſhe bore you, and her piety towards all her relations, that ſhe requires none of your tears. Be rul'd then by your dead child; by the reſt of your friends and acquaintance, who are griev'd for your ſake; grant this favour to your country, that if there be any occaſion, it may uſe thy aſſiſtance and advice: and laſtly, ſince our hard fortune is ſuch, and that we muſt act this complying part, do not ſuffer that any ſhould ſuſpect it is not ſo much your Daughter, as the bad times of the Commonwealth, and the victory of the oppoſite faction, that afflicts you.

I'm aſham'd to write any more to you on this ſubject, leſt I ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt your wiſdom: wherefore, after offering you this one particular, I ſhall make an end of writing. We ſaw you ſometimes bear your proſperous fortune excellently well, which procur'd you great commendations: let us now then be convinc'd that you can equally bear adverſity, and that it ſeems no heavier burden to you than it ought; leaſt of all virtues you ſhould appear to want this ſingle one. As for my ſelf, when I know that you enjoy more tranquillity of mind, I ſhall acquaint you with the tranſactions of this place, and the condition of our Province.

Farewell.

ANTHONIO VAN DALE

S. P. D.

JO. TOLANDUS.

NON poſſum, vir celeberrime, non poſſum non te etiam atque etiam monere quanti ingenium & ſtudia tua ſemper fecerim, nec quidem, ut frequenter evenire aſſolet, minuit præſentia famam: nam quæ in te ſummopere elucent virtutes; mira ſcilicet comitas, exquiſitiſſima doctrina, veritatis indagandæ deſiderium cum libertatis tuendæ ſtudio conjunctum, te mihi (quod vix poſſibile credebam fieri) chariorem adhuc multo reddiderunt. Pergas ergo, Archæologorum quot ſunt quotvè erunt doctiſſime, iiſdem tibi

conciliare modis omnes ingenuos, bonos, & cordatos: herculeo nitaris labore horrenda ſuperſtitionis in lucem pertrahere monſtra, & non ferendum excutere ſocerdotale jugum: demonſtres non ovum ovo ſimilius eſſe, quam ſe invicem referunt ſacratæ recentium & antiquorum, quibus popello illudunt & imperitant, artes, fraudes, ſtrophæ: fac videant ipſi hebetioris acuminis homines nullo pacto in mirandis fabulis, horrendis ambagibus, vel reconditis myſteriis, ſed in vera virtute & ſolida ſcientia, ſitum eſſe ſummum mortalium bonum:

Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, ſervare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque ſequi, patriæque impendere vitam,
Nec ſibi, ſed toti genitum ſe credere mundo.

Ut breviter dicam, fruatur quam cito literatus orbis aureis illis, quos de Romanorum & Græcorum Sacerdotiis elaboraſti tractatibus: nec longius, quam par eſt, expectentur ſecundæ melioreſque de Oraculis curæ, quibus evulgandis non magis tibi aliàs conterraneos meos devincire poteris.

Altero meo hoſpiti, viro digniſſimo Domino Drostio, grates ago innumeras ob tot in me favores congeſtos, & quos ut bene ſentio non mereri me potuiſſe, ſic doleo. Commendatum me habeas, quæſo, tam forma quam ingenio præſtantiſſimæ virgini, Dominæ næ meæ Colartiæ, maximo Harlemi ſimul & naturæ miraculo. Inter pretioſiſſima reponam cimelia, quibus beare me dignata eſt munuſcula; etſi adhuc vix mihi perſuadere poſſum de veritate rerum earum quas tamen in dubio mihi revocare non licet, quarumque propriis auribus & oculis experimentum accepi.

Per literas quas hic ex Anglia accepi, intelligo Comitem Portlandiæ huc certiſſimè venturum, Regem manere domi hac æſtate, numeroſam parari claſſem, Gallos nequaquam timendos, & Parliamentum noſtrum in proximum annum eſſe prorogatum ut noſtri loquuntur. Vale.

Nobiliſſimo Domino
JO. TOLANDO
A. Van Dale S. P. D.

ME tibi percharum eſſe maximè guadeo. At ſuffundis me tantis elogiis, quibus me minime dignum ſentio, maximo pudore. Sumo tamen illa pro humaniſſima admonitione; ut coner talia, per quæ, ſi non laude, certe venia doctis ac cordatis viris dignus videar. O ſi liceret cum talibus, qualis tu nobiliſſime vir es, tranſigere mihi vitam! Nunc vivo, ubi dum bene facere ſtudeo, male tamen audio, unius ob noxam & facinus Ajacis Oilei. **Bekkerus** nempe mihi amicus fuit. Certè ſi jam non ſenex eſſem, ac non uxoratus, mihiq; ſatis honeſta ac qua ſatis commode ſubſiſtere queam, oblata eſſet in Anglia conditio, ibi vobiſcum vivere ac mori liberet. Hic nullus eruditis honos: aut ſi aliquis adhuc ſit, ſolis illis obtigit, qui ſumma cum patientia (licet ſimul ſummo cum tædio) ſervitutis pignus ferre dedicerunt, adulationiq; illorum, qui ipſis longe pejores ſunt ſe bene aſſueſcere valent.

Novellæ, quas mihi ſcripſiſti, pergratæ ſunt. At hic Harpocrati litandum; niſi apud tales, qualis tu nobiliſſ. vir, ac **Drostius** noſter. Reperies tamen & Amſtelodami Nicodemitas. Ejuſmodi moribus quippe hic nobis vivendum; niſi quibus ita vivere licet, ut aliis non indigeant. Ego interim, dum adulari neſcio, tacitus fata mea fero; mihiq; magis magiſq; circa talia impero. Verum plura de hiſce coram, cùm per diem unum aut alterum adhuc ſimul vivere licebit.

Perilluſtri **Grævio**, ut commendes me ſicut deſidero, ita nullus dubito.

Vale interim optime virorum: atq; ut jam cœpiſti, me amare pergas.

Harlemi 23 *Maii* 1699.

Perilluſtri eruditione viro

GEORGIO JOANNI GRÆVIO

S. P. D.

A. VAN DALE M. D.

QUOD dudum volueram, ſed vix tandem auſus ſum, id jam occaſione hac captata facere inſtituo; ut te ſcilicet ſuper ſtudiis meis conſulam. Cum itaque vellet ad te tranſvolare nobiliſſimus Anglus Jo. TOLANDUS, oneravi ipſum meis nugis ad te ſic perferendis. Non ipſum, celeberrime vir, tibi commendo; quod neminis commendatione indigeat: ipſe enim ſibi eſt optima ac maxima commendatio; at volo me per ipſum tibi commendari.

Verum ut ad rem accedam, eſt mihi nunc, poſt ſacra Taurobolia, ſub manibus tractatus illis ſubnectendus de Sacerdotiis, aliiſque muneribus ἐπωνύμοις apud Græcos: qua occaſione mihi pluſquam centum Inſcriptiones Græcæ partim explicandæ, partim illuſtrandæ, partim conſulendæ aut perpendendæ veniunt; circa quas ut mihi plures occurrunt difficultates, ſic tu mihi, celeber. vir, ſuper una atque altera conſulendus es.

Ad te igitur, ut ad commune eruditorum oraculum confugio: nec tam λόξια atque obſcura, quam illa fuerunt quæ ex Apollinis opertis prodibant, expecto. In iſta igitur Inſcriptione apud SPONIUM *p.* 356. *n.* 99. occurrit nobis primum ἀρχιερεὺς τριβαπολέων, quod fateor me non intelligere: unde ad Hierapolim mihi confugiendum hic videtur; atque ita reponere velim ἱεραπολίτων, quod videre mihi videar, ſi non ex STRABONE atque STEPHANO, VITRUVIO ac PLINO, certe ex hac Inſcriptione illam ad Sardianos pertinuiſſe, cum idem L. J. BONNATUS, de quo hic mentio, ſimul Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἐν Λυδίᾳ Σαρδιανῶν, fuerit. Secundò, mihi moleſtias creat ille ἀγωνοθέτης διαρίων, quem quoque non capio, niſi ad Gladiatores Diarios referendus ſit. Noſti, optime vir, quam multa vocabula Latina nobis in Græcis inſcriptionibus occurrant, ut πραιφεκτὸς, σταβουλάριος, φράτηρ ἀρουάλις, & neſcio quæ non alia. Sic ergo crediderim τοὺς διαρίους fuiſſe Gladiatores ipſos, qui certo die a Cæſaribus dato depugnabant: atque eo reſpicere non ſolùm eam inſcriptionem quæ a LIPSIO *l.* 1. Saturnal. producitur; ſed & illam quæ a GRUTERO *p.* 475. *n.* 3. exhibetur. Familias autem Gladiatorum ſuos procuratores, & minerarios, & ἐπιστάτας, adeoque & ἀγωνοθέτας habuiſſe, æque fere atque athletas, mihi ex inſcriptionibus perſuadeo.

Plura eſſent mihi quidem proponenda ſuper aliis; at nauſeam meis nugis tibi creare non audeo. Si videro hæc non nimis ingrata fuiſſe, proponam quoque quæ, cum ſuper aliis, tum ſuper *Archibucolo Dei Liberi*, tum ſuper *Sacerdote Cereris Græca*, tum denique quæ ſuper pluribus aliis concepi. Vellem namque cum minimo meo dedecore talia, nec nimis cruda, in orbem literarium protrudere. Atque, utinam mihi præſenti te conſulere liceret! verum hic mihi ſubſiſtendum, ne tibi nimis ob nugas meas tædio fiam. Hoc tamen addam, *Oracula* mea nunc iterum ſub Bomii prælo, non ſudare, ſed frigere, ac quidem ὕϛερον πρώτερον: prior enim Diſſertatio agit de origine ac progreſſu, ſeu potius de auctoribus Oraculorum; poſterior vero de ipſorum duratione atque interitu. Vale interim, celeberrime vir; atque hoc temporis tui diſpendium mihi, quæſo, benignè condones, dum tuus ex animo ſicuti ſemper permaneo.

Dabam Harlemi, 24 *Maii*, 1699.

TO

Mr. * * *

London, *June* 26, 1705.

SIR,

BY the diſcourſe we had together laſt week, I find you have lain under the ſame miſtake with many others in relation to my circumſtances; for I do no leſs po-

ſitively than ſincerely aſſure you, that in my whole life, I had no relation whatſoever to my Lord SOMERS or my Lord HALIFAX, that I have no perſonal obligations to either of them, nor ever enter'd into any manner of tranſactions with themſelves or on their behalf, either here at home, or any where abroad. As to my Politics, I ever was and will be for a free Government againſt what is arbitrary and deſpotic; which is to ſay, that I prefer ſtanding and indifferent Laws to the uncertain and byaſt will of any Prince. But concerning the ſeveral forms of free Government (which are all good in their kinds, tho' not all equally ſo) I juſtly think our own mixt Conſtitution to be the beſt that is now extant any where. With theſe ſentiments I came abroad into the world; but as no body's born inſpir'd, ſo I am not aſham'd to own, that I had not ſo much wiſdom and diſcretion, as I had ſincerity and zeal, in the management of my opinions. I thought every body meant what they ſaid as well as my ſelf; and therefore in the moſt public manner I promoted the party I had eſpous'd, without once conſidering that their adverſaries wou'd all very naturally become my enemies; nor did I take any care to ballance that oppoſition by procuring potent friends elſewhere. Beſides what I wrote my ſelf, I likewiſe publiſh'd the Lives and Works of HARRINGTON and MILTON, with ſome other Authors; and tho' I profeſt not to agree with them in every thing (eſpecially in their Democratical Schemes of Government) yet in general they greatly contributed to beget in the minds of men, as the effect has ſhewn, an ardent love of liberty, and an extreme averſion to arbitrary power. This was reckon'd a public ſervice, but rewarded only with the public applauſes of ſuch as approv'd the undertaking; while the other ſide had the moſt ſpecious pretext imaginable to repreſent me, what yet in their ſenſe I was not, a moſt violent Republican.

But, Sir, you'll ſcarce conceive my ſurprize, when by degrees I begun to diſcover, that certain perſons, of whom I hitherto entertain'd a high opinion, meant nothing by the Public but themſelves; and my wonder was yet greater when I perceiv'd ſo many others, wiſer and abler than theſe, contentedly become the mean tools of their avarice or ambition, being their exchange or coffee-houſe heralds, and the trumpeters of their praiſes in all public meetings. This made me quickly diſtinguiſh between men and things, between profeſſions and performances; and it remain'd no longer a myſtery to me, why they were fonder of imploying and preferring footmen, bankrupts, poets, players, and pettyfoggers, than men of family, learning, ability, or virtue: becauſe the firſt wou'd not ſcruple to do unexamin'd, what the laſt might reject with deteſtation or contempt, and never come under ſuch engagements as the others wou'd be ſure both to promiſe and to perform; beſides that they cou'd not bear any rivals to their reputed capacity, which made 'em diſcountenance the beſt ſpirits of their own party. Three or four Bills in Parliament did quite take the ſcales from my eyes. And who, I pray, cou'd endure to hear any Whigs oppoſe the Judge's Bill, the Triennial Bill, the Bill for regulating Tryals in caſes of High Treaſon, and ſuch like? when in the preceding Reigns they loudly call'd for theſe, as the very Laws of Nature, wherein they were moſt certainly in the right. Their reaſons againſt theſe excellent Statutes were worſe than even their oppoſition, as if the Whigs only ought to enjoy the benefit of wholeſome regulations, and as if the Tories might reaſonably ſuffer under brib'd Judges and perpetual Parliaments. As a judgment of God, the Tories might juſtly come under theſe puniſhments for promoting them formerly againſt others, without conſidering how another time (as it happen'd) it might be their own turn to feel the ſmart of ſuch ſeverities; but this partiality was ſtrangely unbecoming the Whigs, who by their conſtant principles ought to be patrons of the Liberty of mankind. I was not a little ſcandaliz'd to find 'em, when all other colours fail'd, pretend they were againſt theſe Laws, becauſe the Tories were for 'em, to ſerve their own purpoſes: for 'tis no matter who is for a good thing, nor for what ends, provided the thing it ſelf be truly uſeful and neceſſary; tho' no excuſe is to be made for men of good principles to appear for a bad thing; eſpecially if they clearly perceive the ill of it, and have ſo declar'd it themſelves before.

The buſineſs of the ſtanding Army finiſh'd all, tho' I am far from being againſt an Army whenever our circumſtances indiſpenſably require it. By that time I underſtood ſo much of men and things, as moſt plainly to foreſee that the endeavouring to gain that dangerous and invidious point, wou'd in the minds of the people quite ruin the credit of the Whig-Miniſtry. For this, I own, I was not ſorry; but I was afraid that thro' their ſides the cauſe of Liberty wou'd ſuffer, as very manifeſtly it did. Nevertheleſs thoſe perſons, in order to make their own court and fortunes, did violently inſiſt on that matter, ſo diſpleaſing to the nation, and ſo directly oppoſite to their own declar'd principles and profeſſion. It became the very teſt (as they wou'd have it) of Whig and Tory, when they were all Whigs that wrote againſt it, tho' I will not ſay, they all had the ſame views, no more than all the Tories in oppoſing it in Parliament; but, as others are convinc'd that this controverſy ſerv'd more truly for a teſt to diſcover the inſide of thoſe quack Miniſters, and their worthleſs Tools, and to undeceive thoſe who before this time had more favourable thoughts of both, but now call'd their ability in queſtion no leſs than their integrity. What changes, what Parliaments, what meaſures enſu'd, you well know, and all thinking men did expect. Yet ſo enrag'd were theſe undertakers at their ſurprizing diſappointment, that they never forgave thoſe Whigs, who had the honeſty and firmneſs to adhere to their old principles. Uncertain men they call'd ſuch as they durſt not irritate too much; and thoſe they had leſs reaſon to fear (among which I had the misforfortune to be one) they either branded for Tories among the credulous herd, or repreſented as men of none or unſettl'd principles, and all were unſettl'd that wou'd not go thro' ſtitch. Neither of theſe are to be ever pardon'd for rendring their hopeful projects abortive. However I am ſorry they are ſuch bad Chriſtians as not to forgive real or imaginary offences againſt them; or ſuch bad Politicians as to think themſelves infallible, incapable of committing any errors or miſtakes, and not as liable as others to the reverſes of fortune, which may occaſion the want of uſeful friends. Yet to this hour they cannot diſcern their friends from their flatterers, but proſecute the former with all the contumely and ill offices they are capable. And, believe me, Sir, this perverſe diſpoſition makes hundreds of Whigs to deſire that, however theſe Gentlemen ſet up for Liberty (which they wiſh long to continue) yet they may never be the guardians of it: and 'tis but natural that they ſhou'd endeavour to keep the power out of thoſe hands who have the will to hurt them; eſpecially ſince there are ſo many fit and able perſons in the Nation, under all diſtinctions, who never approved of their maxims or practices (ſome of which are lately employ'd, as the Duke of NEWCASTLE and others,) men who were either never tainted with notions of arbitrary Power, or at leaſt were never ingaged in arbitrary Proceedings; and who are moſt unlikely to be ſeduc'd or corrupted hereafter by reaſon of their great quality, plentiful fortunes, and honeſt principles.

But, leaving ſuch Affairs to her Majeſty's wiſdom, I proceed to tell you, SIR, that the perſevering Whigs on the other hand, were always ready to prefer the public good to their private reſentments; nay, they were content to wink at thoſe needy Miniſter's indirect methods of ſcraping for eſtates at home, ſo long as to ſecure them they wou'd be zealous and vigorous againſt our enemies abroad: and therefore when the cauſe of Whiggiſm was thought to be attack'd in thoſe Gentlemen's perſons, they cordially defended them againſt the proſecution of their enemies; which ſervice they did 'em with more ſucceſs, I am ſure with a better grace than their ſworn creatures and mercenary dependents. The thanks that I in particular had for my pains, was to be moſt falſly repreſented by them not only at home but abroad; at the ſame time that I was exhorted by my real friends to forget all perſonal injuries, and not to complain, if I ſhould not think fit to commend. The Tories were againſt me of courſe; and I cannot blame the Jacobites for being ſo, if any reaſons can be given to juſtify the defence of a bad Cauſe. But thoſe who paſs for Tories, without being Jacobites, are perfectly miſinform'd about me, and if they knew how I repreſented them at Hanover, and in Holland, as being really for the Succeſſion, and in what matters I was of opinion they deſerv'd to be oblig'd, they wou'd undoubtedly believe me no enemy of theirs, how little I might thereby befriend my ſelf: for words are but wind (as they ſay) and therefore names go for nothing with me, where men's actions demonſtrate 'em to be true Engliſhmen; ſince healing of breaches, and enlarging the foundation, ought to be only a good Countryman's deſign. But ſuch a temper in any man is what certain great perſons deteſt above all things, becauſe they can only hope to make a conſiderable figure in ſome narrow-bottom'd faction; whereas in a conjunction of all who agree in the Proteſtant Religion and Succeſſion (however they may diſagree in ſuch trivial matters as forms or ceremonies) their tinſel abilities wou'd be quickly obſcur'd by the ſhining merit and ſolid worth of very many Gentlemen in all parties.

From theſe ſeveral Conſiderations you may eaſily infer, that in the firſt year of her Majeſty's reign, being a ſtranger abroad and friendleſs at home, I muſt needs have been in a very uncertain condition, were not the high-born perſons, under whoſe protection I then liv'd, proof againſt all miſrepreſentations, and that they judg'd of things from their own knowledge and not by the paſſions of others, to which they are not ſo great ſtrangers as they are thought or wou'd ſeem. 'Twas happy for me, they had this generous diſpoſition: for at one and the ſame time I had a Tory Secretary of State writing Letters againſt me to foreign Courts as Agent to the Whigs, if not obnoxious to the Laws; and certain leading Whigs were perſuading the ſame Princes that I was Mr. HARLEY'S Creature, which was a higher crime by far than being a Tory. But I proteſt to you, SIR, by all that's awful, that I have not ſpoke one word to Mr. HARLEY, nor receiv'd one Letter or Meſſage from him, nor ſent any to him, ſince King WILLIAM died. And in this particular I frankly confeſs, that from prudential conſiderations I acted by conſtraint againſt my own judgment; I mean in breaking off converſation and correſpondence with a perſon of ſignal abilities, and excellent learning, by whom a man in my circumſtances cou'd mightily improve, as before I freely acknowledge to have done. But this affected ſtrangeneſs was merely to prevent the vile aſperſions of others either againſt him or my ſelf, which yet I was not able to accompliſh: tho' I did as little approve as any whatſoever ſuch things, if any there were, as I thought in Mr. HARLEY might proceed from private reſentments to the detriment of the public Good. Yet I wholly did and do approve the ſenſe he then had of our corrupt Miniſtry, and thank him for the ſtrenuous efforts he made to diſſolve it. But, in the mean while, I find my condition to be like that of your coquet Ladies, who taſt all the bitter of the ſcandal without enjoying any of the ſweets of the ſin. I paſt for Mr. HARLEY's friend, when he was oppoſed by the Court, and now that he's in power I'm inform'd that by the ſuggeſtion of certain Scots and a Dutchman, he takes me for his enemy; tho' his real unforgiving enemies will have me ſtill to be his favorite, and oppoſe me now on that very ſcore.

With relation to another very great man, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH; I own that having known nothing of him but by the report of others, and being miſled by appearances of a conjunction between him and the moſt violent Tories, from whence I reaſonably apprehended danger to the Succeſſion in the beginning of this reign, I gave my ſelf in Holland, at Berlin and elſewhere ſome liberties in ſpeech, for which upon better information I have amply aton'd, doing him all the juſtice poſſible wherever I had injur'd him. And ſince his Grace has perform'd ſuch extraordinary ſervices for his Country (which have contributed not only to reconcile and endear him to all true patriots, but alſo to undeceive all well-meaning, tho' miſtaken perſons; and that his actions are an effectual demonſtration of his good intentions to the Succeſſion, whereof the Court of Hanover it ſelf never doubted) he has the means in his power of diſcerning the ſincerity of all who pretend to honor his worth; conſidering eſpecially the open enmity and ſcurrilous uſage he meets at preſent from many, who were his Flatterers and paſt for his Admirers before. The very ground of their careſſes (as their behaviour undeniably proves) was a preſum'd averſion in his Grace to the Proteſtant Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, which they were far from making a ſecret till this laſt year, when their faireſt hopes were ſo happily and ſo gloriouſly defeated.

As for my Lords N*** and R*** (for I am reſolv'd to be ſo plain and particular, as not to trouble you with a ſecond Letter on this ſubject) the firſt had a perſonal pique againſt me, the Miniſtry of the ſecond was dreaded abroad yet more than at home, and I am ſo averſe to the Deſigns of both the men, that there was no friendſhip or favour to be expected from that quarter, and ſo none was ever deſir'd. To ſay it then in a word, my ſupport has been owing to the generoſity and eſteem of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, and certain other worthy perſons at home, together with ſome help from Germany; and not in whole or in part deriv'd from my Lord SOMERS, Lord HALIFAX, or any other Miniſters. The Duke of NEWCASTLE has been my true friend; and, ſince I had the honor to be known to his Grace, he has been conſtantly infuſing into me ſentiments of peace and moderation, the profoundeſt reſpect for the Queen's Majeſty and Government, and a largeneſs of ſoul towards all denominations of Engliſhmen, that wou'd agree in the ſupport of her Title and the legal Succeſſion; notwithſtanding any difference of opinion in other matters, whether of Church or State. To this diſpoſition experience had already brought me without his honeſt advice, and if enabl'd, I ſhall make it plainly appear in the whole conduct of my life.

Thus I have given you, SIR, the true reaſons why I have not been hitherto put into any Employment, nor ever yet ſu'd for one to any Party. Whether it be a vanity to own it, I know not, but it wou'd certainly be a falſe modeſty to conceal it from you, that I thought my ſelf neglected and ill-uſed by the Whig-Miniſters (as they were call'd) which without all queſtion has begot ſuitable reſentments againſt their perſons, but no diſlike of the Cauſe in which they pretend to be ingag'd, which is the cauſe of human nature, and conſequently mine as well as theirs. You need not wonder therefore any longer that I made no application (ſince they ſay I was never deny'd) where the terms imported to become a tool at leaſt, and what the moſt is I forbear now to mention. But I was once ſo ſenſible of their unworthy treatment, that I digeſted the heads of a Paper, which I intended to call *Advice to the Whigs againſt the time they are next in power*, wherein I wou'd ſhew the true Whigs the ſeveral ſlights and failings of thoſe Gentlemen, what a diſcredit they brought thereby on the Party and danger to Liberty; that they were the occaſion of any diſaffected perſon's getting into the Adminiſtration, and that they were by no means fit to head a Party, tho' they might be proper enough to promote or undermine one: in the ſervice I think they ought always to be kept, and therefore to be always fed in hopes. But I made no progreſs to reduce that Paper into method, and God knows if ever I do: for all I have repeated and much more I cou'd forgive, tho' not be able to forget, provided the peace of my Country requir'd it.

The preſent Lord Treaſurer is a perſon I never offended in word or writing, tho' in *the Art of governing by Parties*, which I wrote ſome years ago, I have ſhortly but juſtly characteriz'd all the other great men (with ſome more) I have nam'd in this Letter, except Mr. HARLEY. This, you may be ſure, cou'd not proceed from a foreſight of his being one day, as he is at preſent, firſt Miniſter; but is a pure effect of his merit in the diſcharge of his truſt as a public perſon; for in all other reſpects he's to me a perfect ſtranger, tho' neither the name nor imputation of any Party cou'd prejudice me againſt him, according to the part I have a good while acted, which is reckoned lukewarm by the pretended Whigs; and yet moſt violent by the worſt Tories, but in time, perhaps, may be *vice verſa*. Now, tho' I never yet did ſo to any other, yet to him I find my ſelf moſt readily diſpos'd to apply in any manner, that he ſhall think me fit to ſerve the Queen or himſelf; for I am certain before hand, that it will be on ſuch a foot as is agreeable to my principles, and for the particular benefit of the Succeſſion. Tho' they have done whatever they cou'd to ruin me in all people's opinion, yet I commend the meaſures his Lordſhip takes with thoſe abdicated Miniſters; but then let him always remember the late Lord SUNDERLAND, and conſider whether they did not owe more to him, notwithſtanding their ungrateful returns, for which, however, they have deſervedly ſmarted ever ſince. Neither am I apprehenſive that ſo wiſe a man ſhould receive haſty impreſſions againſt me as being too open, when I had no ſecrets to keep, or buſineſs to manage; nor as being too bookiſh, when I had no other employment for my thoughts or time, notwithſtanding the artful inſinuations of certain people in the world. 'Tis but putting me to the tryal. And might my own advice be heard in an affair that concerns me ſo nearly, I wou'd not deſire any public eſtabliſhment for ſome time, 'till my Patron had got experience of my fitneſs and ability, as well as that I might have an opportunity of curing certain prejudices in others which have done me much diſſervice, and which I never endeavour'd to prevent, becauſe it was never worth my while. You'll wonder all this time, that I have not mentioned the Church which is ſo much exaſperated againſt me; but as that is indeed the heavieſt article, and the leaſt excuſable, being matter of pure ſpeculation, yet 'tis undoubtedly the eaſieſt conquer'd, and I know the infallible method of doing it: but of this in particular among our ſelves.

I wou'd therefore go at preſent to Germany, as before I intended by encouragement from thence, and keep a conſtant weekly correſpondence with his Lordſhip, not only according to his Inſtructions, but likewiſe as to all Obſervations of my own, I ſhou'd think deſerving his curioſity or notice. I ſhou'd remain ſometimes at Berlin, or Caſſel, or Deſſau,

ſau, that it might not be ſaid I was more at Hanover than elſewhere, or that I was ſent by any man or party thither; but my intereſt there is ſo good, and they have ſuch an opinion of my diligence and affection, that when abſent I ſhou'd know all that paſt there and cou'd communicate what I thought fit to them from other places, as well as when I found it convenient to be upon the ſpot. This I fancy wou'd be of ſome advantage both for the Queen's ſervice and theirs, and the ſecret ſhall be kept by me inviolable, ſo long as it ſhall be thought neceſſary ſo to do; for I have pretences enough to go into that Country on my own account, as to make an ampler Deſcription of it, or for any other plauſible intent. For my Appointment, I ſhall be well content that it be paid me quarterly, and that it be continued no longer than I ſhall be judg'd to deſerve the ſame or a better.

Whether ſuch a perſon, SIR, who is neither Miniſter nor Spy, and as a lover of Learning will be welcome every where, may not prove of extraordinary uſe to my Lord Treaſurer as well as to his predeceſſor BURLEIGH who employ'd ſuch, I leave his Lordſhip and you to conſider. As for the ſervice and gratitude I ſhou'd owe to his family no leſs than to himſelf, they are better underſtood than expreſt; ſince it is not words but deeds that muſt do the latter, and that there can be no deeds without an opportunity. My friends on t'other ſide of the

Sea wiſh me impatiently there; and even in my Lord N***'s time, notwithſtanding his Memorials, the Electreſs proferr'd to do ſomething for me in a public manner, were I but recommended by any conſiderable perſons, as I'll ſhew you by expreſs Letters: for ſhe believ'd (and I ſuppoſe not without reaſon) that I was ſtrangely miſrepreſented to the Queen, with whom ſhe juſtly deſir'd, as ſhe ever will do, to be upon the beſt terms ſhe cou'd, and ſo durſt do nothing openly in my behalf. Nevertheleſs, her Royal Highneſs knew better than any body that it was impoſſible I ſhould not be moſt hearty for her Majeſty's Title and Government, or be perfectly inconſiſtent and the falſeſt creature in the world to my own principles, and regardleſs of that Succeſſion for which I profeſt ſo much zeal, and which I had publiſh'd to the world as the greateſt happineſs, not only to England, but to the liberty of Europe in general. I can make no other apology for the length of this Letter, but that it ſaves you the trouble of many more, and that in a narrower compaſs I cou'd not give a full and ſatisfactory anſwer to all your Queſtions, which yet may be all reduc'd to theſe two, why I was not employ'd before, and how I wou'd be employ'd at preſent?

I am, SIR,

your moſt oblig'd and humble ſervant.

TO

Mr. * * *

December 14, 1705.

SIR,

ALL this time I have been a ſilent but not an idle Spectator. Publick matters go exactly according to my wiſhes, and not otherwiſe than I expected from this Miniſtry, which (I hope) in the principal ſupports and ſprings of it is inviolably united: and then the ornamental or ſubſervient parts may be alter'd or amended at leiſure. It is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, that the judgment of the Queen, the Parliament, and the Miniſtry, do ſo unanimouſly concur with the Book, which (under your protection) I have publiſh'd for their ſervice; and which has met with all the ſucceſs and reputation that any Author cou'd wiſh, tho' he had declar'd his name, as I have been far from doing even to thoſe I have oblig'd. It had the honour to be attributed by good judges to ſeveral eminent perſons, and among the reſt to you; where it had moſt certainly fix'd, were it not for the Character given therein of your ſelf, in which particular, the world believ'd that you wou'd be leſs juſt and more reſerv'd, than any of your ſervants, friends, or admirers. Among perſons of an inferior rank I have been nam'd (as I underſtand) by many; but, for want of good information, 'twas always with ſome doubting, wherein I am ſtill determin'd to leave 'em. As for any thing in the Book not juſt according to your ſentiments, which perhaps may happen in a point or two, you'll have the goodneſs to conſider that I wanted opportunity to conſult you perſonally, for doubtleſs your ſpecial Directions, or the honour of your Converſation at leiſure hours, wou'd have made it another gueſs piece; I having finiſh'd it in a very few days, without any to adviſe me but Mr. P * * *, being in the country, and not maſter of time enough to poliſh the very language.

Now, SIR, I have form'd another Deſign, which may be as ſeaſonable, uſeful, and neceſſary as the firſt; and therefore as well for that, as for ſome other reaſons, I humbly and earneſtly beg the favour of one half hour's Diſcourſe with you, wherever or in what manner you pleaſe to appoint; for I can come by water, or at any time in the night. I wou'd not give you any trouble of this kind, while my friend Mr. P * * * was abſent, that I might not be oblig'd to make uſe of any other name. There's no time to be loſt, and I am ambitious to have the next Piece without a fault; which I ſhall judge it to be, if it has but your concurrence or approbation. Having ſent one of the firſt (under the feign'd name of Mr. FREEMAN) to Mr. SHOWER the Diſſenting

ing Miniſter, I receiv'd the Anſwer which I ſend you incloſ'd, and more ſuch from other hands: all aſſuring me that *The Memorial of the State of England* was the true ſtate of the caſe, had leſs trifling, and more impartiality than any Book that had yet appear'd on the ſubject. I flatter my ſelf you'll not wholly impute it to vanity, that I give you this account of a work, which in ſome ſenſe may be call'd your own, as in every ſenſe I am, Sir, with the greateſt ſincerity and zeal,

Your moſt faithful, humble, and obedient Servant.

Mr. SHOWER's Letter *on receiving the* Memorial of the State of England, *as a Preſent from the unknown Author.*

Clerkenwell, *Oct.* 24, 1705.

Sir,

THE kind Preſent I receiv'd on Monday night, viz. *The Memorial of the State of England*, appears to me to be the moſt judicious and ſeaſonable of any thing lately printed. 'Tis the real ſtate of our caſe ſet in a true light, with excellent judgment and eloquence; very likely to open the eyes, and calm the minds of many. I ſhall moſt gladly do what I can to promote the ſpreading of it; and accordingly deſire twenty five may be ſent me per firſt, and ſhall pay the porter the Bookſeller's price, and ſo diſpoſe of 'em, as to occaſion the buying and reading of a much greater number. If the other Miniſters nam'd have read it, I doubt not but their ſentiments are the ſame with mine, tho' I have not had the opportunity to ſee either of 'em. SIR, I reckon it an honour to have been thought worthy of ſuch a preſent; and 'twill be an additional one to kiſs the hands of him who ſent it, and expreſs my thanks and eſteem and unfeign'd reſpect, of which I hereby aſſure him, who am, SIR, his moſt oblig'd humble Servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

My Averſion and Inclination:

IN A LETTER

To Mrs. D * * *.

YOU ſend me news indeed, MADAM, that Dame SCRAG that unparallel'd original, imagines I am deeply ſmitten with her; by reaſon of ſome expreſſions in a Letter of mine to the Reverend Doctor, our common acquaintance. But that Gentleman and I dealing wholly in myſteries of one kind or another, I'll then allow her to comprehend my meaning, whenever ſhe has a particular revelation either from him or me. But you ſay the ſame thing was confirm'd to her by one, who has an unlucky talent at writing merry Ballads and waggiſh Lampoons; nay, that he inſinuated much more than he thought fit to ſay. Such a heroic accompliſhment is enough, I confeſs, to beget a terrible idea of that wight, in the breaſts of all thoſe Ladies who bluſh as ſoon as they hear him nam'd; which are the fooliſh, the frail, and the fickle, the tattlers, the dawbers, the modiſh, and the coquets, to all which I know her Ladyſhip to be a perfect ſtranger. Theſe characters will reach nevertheleſs to a world of other women; which makes me wonder, that the adventurous Poet does not put all the timorous fair under contribution; which wou'd be a ſurer way of enriching himſelf, than by dabbling (as he does now) in Politics, or by drudging (as he did before) in Trade. I don't ſay, and you won't think, that on any account whatſoever, her Ladyſhip ſhou'd either pay her quota to him in coin, or be frighted by his Satyr to quit any of her humors, which are dearer to ſome women than the moſt precious of their jewels: but in the particular you mention, ſhe's certainly more afraid than hurt, or rather, not being hurt, is the reaſon ſhe's not afraid; ſince the ſcandal (if any was intended) muſt be entirely meant to me, which yet I eaſily forgive, becauſe none will believe it. But, in the name of averſion, what have I done to occaſion this ſuſpicion? for what have I not left undone to prevent it? Yet if it muſt needs be added to the puniſhment of my other ſins, let it be ſaid at leaſt, that I ſuffer for a ſin of omiſſion; ſince in all probability I wou'd take care not to be over intimately concern'd, unleſs with ſome of your ſly Gypſies that can keep a ſecret, ſuch as rarely ſhew their admirer's Letters, and that never boaſt of the number of their conqueſts. But I appeal to her Ladyſhip, if ſetting aſide ſome roguiſh expreſſions, which I know to be one of her favourite diverſions, I be not the moſt harmleſs thing in the world as to deeds; and I am ready to take my corporal oath, that ſhe was never one moment the object of my thoughts.

However, leſt her Ladyſhip ſhould be ever ſo little diſcompos'd at ſo ungrounded a ſurmiſe, and that I may ruin my ſelf all at once with ſome other Darlings of mine (meaning the venerable ſociety of vain and wanton Widows; the honourable company of Virgins, that have large fortunes and ſmall underſtandings; with the faded skins, and cherry-cheeks of both ſorts) I need but tell them in one emphatical word, that I have engag'd my heart: or, to uſe a longer form, ſince they love chat, that I ſhall be conſtant to merit in the perſon of one excellent creature; and then the very old Maids themſelves, will cry out upon me for an old faſhion'd lover. Truſt me, MADAM, this is a more infallible receipt to get rid of what's importunate or impertinent, than ever was invented for driving away troubleſome flyes. It will effectually loſe me the reputation of intriguing, which I have ever carefully avoided; nor will I gain a little by it in another way, I ſhan't be apt to tell you at this time. And now if you wou'd either know my ſure preſervative againſt all mean temptations, or how my inclinations ſtand towards ſome of your other female acquaintance, be pleas'd to learn from my own pen the Character of my real or imaginary Miſtreſs; for as to the deſign of this Letter, 'tis no matter whether it be a preſent Miſtreſs or a future.

I aſſure you therefore in the firſt place, that ſhe ever thinks before ſhe ſpeaks, tho' ſhe never ſpeaks half ſhe thinks; which you'll ſay, is very much in either man or woman. You know already who ſhe is not. But then, as ſhe betrays no folly by giggling laughter, nor any malice by leering ſmiles, ſo ſhe can be very brisk and chearful in converſation, without poorly leſſening, or ſcandalouſly abuſing her friends. Her prudent obſervations (join'd to moderate reading) will never let her be at a loſs, when 'tis her turn to entertain the company; tho' ſhe's far from being the monſter they call a Learned Lady, or from thinking her ſelf oblig'd to furniſh all the talk and diverſion: for ſhe never becomes the ſubject of diſcourſe to others, but as ſhe's the admiration of the good, or the envy of the bad; and even theſe laſt are ſometimes heard to praiſe her, in order to paſs themſelves the better with their neighbours for ſincere or judicious perſons. She avoids ill company as carefully as ſhe does their faults: but if by accident or miſtake ſhe happens to be engag d in ſuch, (as who can always prevent it) ſhe behaves her ſelf ſo cautiouſly, as neither to diſoblige them, nor to ſcandalize others; yet leaving them without any hopes of receiving a ſecond viſit, and the reſt of the world without any juſt cauſe of reflection. She has wit and beauty to make her be paſſionately lov'd in youth, as ſhe has ſenſe and virtue to make her be honourably eſteem'd in old age: and ſhe deſpiſes as much the nauſeous flatteries of pretending coxcombs, as ſhe values the diſintereſted commendations of the wiſe and good, whom ſhe ſtudiouſly imitates. Her Religion lyes not in her tongue, but in her heart: and the outward performances of it do no more conſiſt in preciſely lifting up her eyes to heaven, at the ſame time that ſhe curtſies to the rake or the fop in the next pew; than the private duties of it are reading looſe Poems, placing of paint and patches, conſulting the oracle of the bottle, or uſing certain other amuſements in the cloſet, from which ſeveral come out more boiſterous Devils, than they went in demure Hypocrites. But the inoffenſiveneſs of her manners, the evenneſs of her temper, the charitableneſs of her diſpoſition, and the clearneſs of her whole conduct, make her be bleſt and admir'd for her goodneſs whereſoever ſhe comes; ſo that the propereſt prayer for diſcreet Matrons, is to wiſh night and day, that their own Daughters may be like her. To be as ſhort as I can in a very long Letter, ſhe's genteel without affectation, gay without levity, civil to ſtrangers without being free, and free with her acquaintance without being familiar.

I am convinc'd that thoſe Ladies who judge of other's inclinations by their own, and who have reaſon to wiſh all women were like themſelves, wou'd be ready to ſay, (if they ſaw my Letter) that this is an imaginary Miſtreſs; tho' if I had but her permiſſion, I cou'd with pleaſure tell you her name, and defy their worſt malice to find a tittle in the deſcription, which is not outdone by the original. Yes, MADAM, there is in reality ſuch a Lady ſomewhere; tho' I am ſo far from pretending to a return of mutual love, that I cannot even ſay I ever made her a poſitive declaration. Yet as to the mere Character, I'm ſure for the honor of your ſex you'll make no ſcruple to believe it. But then, for the honor of ours, I expect you'll likewiſe believe, that ſecure of ſuch a one's perſon and affection, I wou'd rather

undergo

undergō poverty and diſgrace, accept of the woods for my lodging with the old Knights-errant, and be content with roots for my daily food; than being coupl'd (like the living and the dead) with any of a different ſtamp, to poſſeſs riches and favour, to feed continually on exquiſite dainties with the modern heroes, and to paſs all my time in gilded palaces. And tho' I have no reaſon to doubt but ſhe has a handſome fortune (for this I'd ſcorn to examine) yet I heartily rejoice that ſhe's none of your vaſt eſtates; leſt ſhe ſhould imagine from the conduct of moſt other men, that one ſordid arrow tipt with her gold, had mingl'd with thoſe purer rays which are ſhot from her eyes. This you may take for romantic language, tho' of you in particular I have a better opinion: and others, whoſe good opinion I ſhou'd be ſorry to deſerve, will call it a generous folly. But I, who know that true happineſs is inward tranquillity and not outward pageantry, contemn the judgment of the multitude when it comes in competition with my own experience: my pleaſure and repoſe by no means precariouſly depending on what others think, or ſay, or do: but ſolidly conſiſting in what I my ſelf do feel, and reliſh, and enjoy.

Now, that I may a little ſhift the ſcene, I'll ſay that for Dame SCRAGG, ſhe's wonderful ſagacious to ſmell out an Amour before it is conceiv'd, and at ſuch a terrible diſtance too. But ſince to clear my ſelf to her Ladyſhip from the imputation of being her admirer (which I wou'd not do to any other woman on earth) is the main deſign of this long Letter; I need not (I ſuppoſe) give you any further trouble, than only to tell you, that I am, with as much gratitude for your information, as eſteem for your friendſhip,

MADAM,

Your moſt faithful and obedient ſervant.

TO THE SAME.

I Lately made you my confidente, MADAM, ſo far as to own I have a Miſtreſs: and, tho' lovers are commonly liars, yet you may ſafely take my word for it, when I ſay, I am ſo well pleas'd with the choice, that I continually bleſs the day, the hour, the place, where ſo ſweet and charming a creature had the ſecret (and 'twas no ſmall one) to make her ſelf the ſole object of all my care and wiſhes. 'Twas no diſtruſt of you, but want of leave from her, that made me ſhy of telling her name: but having communicated her Character to you then, I now ſend you her Picture, to ſee whether you judge as truly of the one as you did of the other. When you know the Lady, you'll ſwear I have not flatter'd her; but nevertheleſs, MADAM, I aſſure you the piece is ſurprizingly like, for the impreſſions ſhe has made, are too deep and lively ever to be forgot. Yet if the copy ſhould not reach the original (as indeed it cannot) my skill in drawing muſt not be blam'd, but her unparallel'd perfections, which are inimitable as they are innumerable.

To repreſent her therefore in miniature, her perſon is abſolutely unexceptionable, as being the golden mean between two very diſagreeable extremes; not approaching that monſtrous tallneſs which preſently begets averſion, and as far from that lowneſs of ſtature, which generally occaſions contempt. Her carriage is graceful without affectation, and eaſy without neglect, which makes an undreſs or any kind of dreſs equally becoming her: but ſo, that in whatever manner ſhe appears, it's always thought by others to be out of deſign, as finding it for that time and occaſion the moſt proper. Her ſhape is exactly proportion'd to her perſon, neither ridiculouſly molded into nothing with ſqueezing engines, nor yet in the leaſt over-grown for want of care: but juſt as it ſhou'd be, enough to convince a man that he embraces a delicate woman, and is not vainly graſping at an airy phantom. Her hair is incomparably fine, extremely thick, and of a light aſh-colour, which makes it the greateſt ornament in the world, as partaking at once of whatever is enflaming in the brown and ſoftening in the fair. Her teeth are as even and white, and her hands as taper and genteel, as one of the correcteſt fancy cou'd wiſh in his own miſtreſs, and the niceſt wou'd not expect to find more in any other. Her lips are the native ſeat of all the ſmiles and the graces; inſomuch that the Bee (which ſhe gave me for a device) wou'd take 'em for the moſt beautiful flower in nature, it wou'd gladly dwell in the pretty dimples of her cheeks, and ſuck honey from her ſweeteſt mouth for ever. Her complection is, in my opinion, wholly divine, and what of all others I infinitely prefer; freſh as the glories of the ſpring, and fair as the pride of autumn. Lilies and Roſes are but faint poetick reſemblances of thoſe colours in her lovely face, which ſo admirably expreſs all the charms of blooming youth, all the ſymptoms of perfect health, and all that mixture of fire and phlegm, without which Love were but a lazy dream, and life it ſelf a burthen. In her dear eyes ſhine all that's ingenious, gay, or engaging. No magick is half ſo enchanting. No magnetick power is near ſo attractive. No ſhafts can hit more ſure or deeper; as at the ſame time no art can bring a more ready cure, nothing but themſelves having the virtue to heal thoſe wounds they occaſion: nor does their colour put me leſs in mind of heaven than their glory. Her forehead, her chin, her eyebrows, and all the reſt of her features, are exactly regular; and ſingly or united are capable to charm the whole world, making young men mad, old men fools, and all women envious. 'Tis better to ſay nothing of her breaſt than not to ſay enough, or in ſome proportion to the tranſporting ſubject, thoſe heaving adorable twins of the moſt refin'd and unſpeakable delights. But this is much better expreſſed by imagination, and is a bliſs to be touch'd, but never to be thoroughly deſcrib'd. Nor do I queſtion the exceſſive perfections of thoſe other beauties, which the troubleſome diſguiſe of garments hide from my longing eyes; and which as I have not ſeen I cannot pretend to paint, nor wou'd if I were able, ſince it is the higheſt ambition of my heart, that theſe may be only ſeen, admir'd, and poſſeſt by my ſelf. This ineſtimable bleſſing wou'd quickly render me the happieſt man alive; as ſhe wou'd become the happieſt of women, if a thorough knowledge of her worth, and the moſt diſintereſted affection for her perſon, cou'd poſſibly make her ſo.

Theſe, MADAM, are but the external lines, and only the cover of a yet fairer ſoul, whence (according to old obſervation) the valuableneſs of the jewel may be gueſs'd by the richneſs of the caſe. Her good breeding, good humour, and good ſenſe, I have already deſcrib'd in her Character: and, where theſe are, no other good thing can be wanting.

Now I hope you'll own, that in ſending you this rough draught of my Miſtreſs's Picture, I have ſent you at the ſame time a ſufficient juſtification of my own paſſion; having inviolably reſolv'd to love her only to my laſt breath (which ſhe alone can hinder) with all the ardor of the youngeſt man, and with all the conſtancy of the oldeſt philoſopher. In ſhort, MADAM, that Miſtreſs alone I wou'd make a wife, of whom I think in this manner; and ſhe (I think) ought to make that Lover alone her husband, who thus thinks of her: for tho' other things may render Matrimony ſplendid, 'tis only this can make it happy. I have nothing more to add, but that her name is A, B, C, D.

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

IN anſwer to yours of Saturday laſt, be pleas'd to know, that the Seven Provinces coming to a ſtricter Union than that of Utrecht (the foundation of their Republic) it was unanimouſly agreed in the year 1583, that the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion alone ſhou'd be publickly eſtabliſh'd, while other Sects ſhould be onely tolerated, and Popery conniv'd at. This is the only Law, with relation to the religious qualification of Magiſtrates, that ever was made in the Provinces from that time to this: and that *Reformata Religio* did ſignify therein the Lutherans as well as the Calviniſts at the time of making this Law, and that it is underſtood of the Arminians no leſs than of the Gomariſts ſince that time, I ſhall have no difficulty to convince you; juſt in the ſenſe, I ſay, that Reform'd Churches ſignifies all theſe in one Liturgy. For, tho' Reform'd or Calviniſt, is now us'd commonly abroad in contradiſtinction to Evangelic or Lutheran; yet, at the time of making the Law aforeſaid, it comprehended the whole body of thoſe who made the Bible their only rule of faith, and who join'd in rejecting the Idolatry and Superſtitions of Popery, together with the Supremacy of the Pope. As a proof of this, among abundance of others, ſeveral of the leading men, men of the greateſt authority, and who had their ſhare in making this very Law, were profeſt Lutherans: moſt of the cities of the Provinces were then full of Lutherans, who were admitted to Magiſtracy equally with the Calviniſts: and Lutheraniſm, in ſhort, was the prevailing profeſſion of diverſe places for ſome time after the enacting of this Law, particularly of the city of Worden; whoſe inhabitants came afterwards to change of their own accord, without any poſitive or negative diſcouragements to influence them.

As for the Arminians, or Remonſtrants, who truly account themſelves, and are no leſs accounted by others, to be Reform'd or Proteſtants; 'tis certain that they are by no means excluded from Magiſtracy, neither by the Law of the year 1583, when this diſtinction was not known, nor by any Law ſince: and at this very time many of 'em partake of the moſt conſiderable poſts, being the prevailing Party in ſeveral places, as they are reputed to be ſo in the ſupreme Government it ſelf; and, whenever you require it, I ſhall acquaint you with their names, being alſo willing to give you particular proofs of every other thing which I have hitherto aſſerted. Indeed at certain junctures, as, for example, under the late glorious King WILLIAM, (to whom the Arminians were no friends, by reaſon of their averſion to any Stadtholder) they were prudently kept out of offices, but not excluded by any Law: as thoſe of the Church of England, who are diſaffected to the preſent Settlement, are very juſtly kept out of places, tho' otherwiſe qualifying themſelves by the ſacramental Teſt. This, and no other, has been preciſely the caſe of the Arminians in Holland: and the Anabaptiſts (who are unqueſtionably Proteſtants) are no otherwiſe excluded, than as they exclude themſelves by their notions of Magiſtracy and the uſe of the ſword; ſeveral of 'em being employ'd where their Conſciences will permit 'em to ſerve, and particularly in the city of Amſterdam. I ſpeak all this time of civil offices, for all the public Churches are to be only ſerv'd by Miniſters who ſubſcribe the Synod of Dort; with liberty, as I ſaid, to others, who pay their own Miniſters.

To His Grace

My Lord Archbiſhop OF CANTERBURY.

May it pleaſe Your Grace,

MOnſieur DUBOURDIEU gave me an account how favourably your Grace was pleas'd to receive the Book I took the liberty to ſend you; which I eſteem not only as an extraordinary obligation; but (conſidering my character in the world, which is not what at preſent I deſerve) I look upon it as a demonſtration of that Chriſtian goodneſs and greatneſs of ſpirit, with which you are acknowledg'd by all good men, to ſupport and adorn your high Station in the Church. The ſame reverend perſon, who was not wanting to me at ſeveral times in his friendly and charitable admonitions, has further acquainted me with what he promis'd on my behalf to your Grace, and which I ſhall always, by the help of God, endeavour to make good; being firmly reſolv'd in this laudable purpoſe both by principle and engagement. He has been a witneſs for two years paſt of my ordinary converſation, which he'll own to be very different from what it has formerly been, and is ſtill repreſented to be by thoſe who do not know me, or are not willing I ſhou'd make a better uſe of my reaſon and experience: for I am ſorry to ſay what I cou'd not chuſe but obſerve, that ſome people wou'd rather ſee a man, who is averſe to their enſlaving Politics, run the risk of working his own damnation and endangering the ſouls of others, than to be exempt from their cenſure or revenge on the ſcore of Religion, when they cannot otherwiſe attack him. Whoever is loyal and orthodox in the State, is with them a Heretick or a Traitor in the Church, let his life and doctrine be ever ſo unblameable.

But if I can be ſo happy, My Lord, as to approve my ſelf to the beſt, I ſhall reckon it no misfortune to meet with reproaches from the worſt, which is a part of my duty no leſs to bear than to forgive. As I was born neither inſpir'd nor infallible, ſo I ſhall be far from juſtifying any thing I may have hitherto done amiſs: but this is no argument that I have never perform'd any thing worthy of commendation. And therefore, ſince the bounds of this Letter cannot contain what I have to ſay on either of theſe heads, I humbly beg the favour of you to permit me to wait on Your Grace, to offer that further ſatisfaction I am prepar'd to give, as well as to receive your paternal advice and directions, which, next to the ſacred precepts of the Goſpel, I ſhall eſteem the moſt obligatory rules whereby to frame the future conduct of my life. I am, with all the ſincerity and veneration imaginable,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt faithful, dutiful, and obedient Servant.

March the 6th,
1706-7.

TO

THE REVEREND Mr. ***

Reverend Sir,

TO hear of ſcandal, quarrels, and defamation, I am ſorry, is no new thing; the world did always abound with them, and will continue to do ſo as long as envy, pride, or avarice deprave human nature. Notwithſtanding there be a ſovereign light plac'd by the Almighty in every man's heart as well to moderate his paſſions as to guide his actions; yet leſt we ſhou'd be too partial in affairs which concern our own perſons, and ſo be apt to miſtake our ſelfiſh inclinations for the dictates of unbyaſſed reaſon; we have public monitors and judges divinely eſtabliſh'd among us, both to inform us of our duty, and to regulate our behaviour. Tho' it be a moſt wicked thing in any body to miſrepreſent another, yet the ſin is more notorious in that man whoſe peculiar function obliges him to preach charity, peace, and forgiveneſs to others: for nothing he can ever ſay will have any great influence while his ill example ſeems to be ſo ſtrong an argument that he believes not his own Doctrine.

'Tis but too well known in how many particulars I might apply this with relation to my ſelf; but I'm ſo much accuſtom'd to the hard and undeſerv'd uſage of ſome men, that now it moves me not in the leaſt; yet I was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to hear you cenſur'd by ſome of your brethren in the country, as if you had receiv'd a bribe to give me the Sacrament, which ſhews at once their ignorance and their malice: their ignorance in imagining you cou'd deny it me, and their malice in belying you after ſo baſe a manner. My charity wou'd never let me ſuſpect that you were capable of being corrupted to commit any wilful iniquity, much leſs that you wou'd for a little money proſtitute the moſt ſacred ordinance of the Chriſtian Religion. I wiſh my circumſtances wou'd allow me to make the poor acknowledgment, I yearly pay the Miniſter, a great deal more: you know it was but one Guinea to you laſt year, and given a long while before you publiſh'd your intentions of adminiſtring the Sacrament. As for my participating of it, there needed no other known qualification (I hope) than being diſpos'd as the Rubric directs; and the bare act of receiving it ought to convince all charitable perſons of my veneration for it: ſince I look upon it to be the public ſign whereby we commemorate the death of JESUS CHRIST, the founder of our Religion, engage our ſelves to obey his Laws, and declare our hopes to enjoy the benefits of the ſame. Indeed I differ from you and others who think the Sacrament to be a means of conveying grace: which, if it be an error, has been profeſt to the world by many eminent Divines of our Church, and was never thought a ſufficient bar to Communion.

It is a maxim with me never to believe a ſtory which reflects upon any man's honor, till I have it from an unqueſtionable author: nor is it enough that it be one I eſteem, if he knows no more of it than only by report; and therefore I need not tell you with what tenderneſs we ought to handle reputation, ſince the injury is commonly irreparable. I am a true well-wiſher to all mankind, but I particularly deſire the converſion of my enemies. I doubt not your juſtice when occaſion requires it, and you will not ſcruple my ſincerity when I profeſs my ſelf to be, Reverend SIR, your moſt humble ſervant.

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

WHAT you heard from your Couſin about the Book of which he tells you I am maſter, is actually true; and no ſtory of his making (as you ſuppoſe) to ſet Doctor MORELLI's mouth a watering, nor any ſcheme of my contrivance to vent my own notions under ſuch a diſguiſe. The Volume carries in it ſelf undeniable arguments of its age and authority: and, ſince you ſay your curioſity is ſo great and preſſing, you ſhall by no means loſe your longing; for I'll tell you the hiſtory of this piece in as few words as I can, yet omitting at this time all that I know concerning the perſon and circumſtances of the Author.

In the Court of Queen ELIZABETH 'tis generally acknowledg'd, even by her enemies, that there was a ſet of very extraordinary men, and among them ſome, who underſtood every thing elſe as well as the Art of Government, and who ſaw further than any ſince (or perhaps before) into the myſteries of Prieſtcraft and the extravagancies of Superſtition. This knowledge of the follies of ſome men, and the frauds of others, did not a little ſerve to make them ſuch exquiſite Politicians, enabling them to take every thing by the right handle, what ſafely to aboliſh, what neceſſarily to retain, how to govern all men by the ſprings of their own paſſions, and to manage the whole machine by the chains and weights of prevailing opinions. Private Conferences they uſually had, wherein they talk'd of every thing freely and without a veil, being ſecure from the cenſure or miſtakes of the prophane vulgar, and in thoſe things true to one another, tho' not ſeldom at variance on other occaſions.

The moſt remarkable inſtance of their liberty in thinking, and of their prudence in concealing their notions is this Book, which was written with the privity of a certain number among them, who had the few copies that were printed, and the work was particularly dedicated to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, of whom the Author has given an excellent character, as he has done of the French Ambaſſador Monſieur de MAUVISSIER DE CASTELNAU, and of FULK GREVILL, afterwards Lord BROOK, three principal men in this learned Club of Courtiers: the reſt being a mixture of young and old perſons, as Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Sir AMBROSE PHILLIPS, the Earl of LEICESTER;

and ſome others: but the Encomium of Queen ELIZABETH, for the juſtice of fact, delicacy of thought, and eloquence of expreſſion, ſeems to ingage the Author's affections, wherever he has occaſion to mention her.

In the Book is repreſented a Council of the Gods, owning, rehearſing, and expoſing their ancient worſhip, or the Religion of the Heathens, in a moſt learned, long, and elegant Oration made to them by JUPITER, on the Feſtival in commemoration of their Victory over the Giants. But the Gods are no leſs ſcandaliz'd and offended at the preſent condition of things, which they conclude to be yet far worſe than in the Pagan times, both in reſpect of private Virtue and of public Government. Having reſolv'd therefore to make amends for their own paſt tricks and offences, and to deſtroy the ſucceeding impoſtures of others, they agreee to act fairly for once, and to ſet up the intelligible, uſeful, neceſſary, and unalterable Law of Nature, againſt the myſterious, ſpeculative, unpracticable, and changeable Inſtitutions of all other kinds. But in order to this, finding no Letters ſo clear, univerſal, and durable, as the eternal fires of the Stars, they aboliſh the antient names of the Conſtellations: which, when underſtood, are but the hiſtories of the tyranny, luxury, brutality, whimſicalneſs, and other defects of antient Princes or great men; or, where not underſtood, many of them are fabulous, moſtly obſcure, and all unprofitable. Wherefore inſtead of theſe poetical fictions, they give the Conſtellations the names of the ſo long forgot and neglected moral Virtues, carefully marking, examining, confuting, and rejecting the oppoſite vices. All the antient Conſtellations, about forty eight in number, are ſucceſſively arraign'd; and in exploding the Heathen ſtory (as that of *Orion*, or the *Bear*, or *Aquarius*, for example) there is commonly a parallel or alluſion made to ſome later Superſtition, which is ironically handled, and admirably turn'd into ridicule, in a method peculiar to our Author. Immediately after this, the contrary Virtue is ſet off to full advantage, being propoſed by ſome of the Gods, and decreed by JUPITER, to take up the room of the Heathen Fable; but in ſo grave and ſolid a ſtile, that one is tempted to believe, it is not always the ſame hand that writes. The counterfeit of every Virtue, and all the falſe pretenders to that name, are patiently heard in making their ſeveral pleas to obtain the honor of a Conſtellation; but are at laſt detected, condemn'd, and diſcarded, as the real Virtue is plac'd on its true foundation, and worthily preſented with a becoming Seat in the Heavens. The Law of Nature being thus methodically reduc'd to certain heads, and the Conſtellations bearing the titles of ſo many Virtues, as of Truth, Prudence, Temperance, Juſtice, Fortitude, and the like; this they call'd *the Book of Nature*, being equally legible and open, at all times and to all perſons.

The project was pretty enough; for in leſs than the ſpace of a fortnight, any body may become maſter of the celeſtial Sphere; ſo that even boys at ſchool might be taught this part of Aſtronomy with no ſmall pleaſure; and by giving ſuch names to the Conſtellations, they wou'd become the beſt monitors and moſt obvious memorials of their duty to all manner of people. It ſerv'd this purpoſe for Religion among the Heathens, which ſhews the thing is not impracticable another way. But our Author never dreamt of publickly eſtabliſhing it, but choſe it for a plan that ſerv'd at once to expoſe the Prieſt-craft of the Heathens and other people. However, this part of the Book is eaſily conceiv'd; and what is moſt ſingular in the whole, is the manner of exploding Superſtition. In a word, it was a very uncommon thought, and incomparably perform'd: for tho' this Volume exceeds not 261 pages in Octavo, ſmall print, beſides the explicatory Dedication containing about a ſheet; yet in one continu'd thread and contexture it contains the whole doctrine of the Sphere, the Learning and Hiſtory of antient Superſtition, the confutation of modern Impoſture, and a compleat Syſtem of Ethicks;

beſides various incidents and digreſſions. How the ſecret was kept, and this Book (which was probably the Queen's own) came to my hands, you ſhall be told another time, for this Letter is but too long already.

I am,
SIR,
your, *&c.*

To * * *

Prague, January 1708.

SIR,

I HAVE nothing to add to what I did my ſelf the honor to write to your Excellency per poſt, but that the Counteſs of STERNBERG is not the only perſon at Prague to whom I am particularly oblig'd: for the very reverend Father Guardian, and the reſt of the worthy members of the Iriſh Convent, were not more diſpoſed to do me all the good offices of humanity, than they were forward to ſhew me the moſt zealous affection of Country-men. Yet I did not receive half that ſatisfaction from their many civilities to my own perſon, as I was charm'd with their putting round the Queen's health in full Refectory, where a great many ſtrangers were preſent, and of ſeveral Nations as well as different Religions. Nor did I find 'em leſs eaſy and well-bred upon this laſt article, than in other things; tho' I frankly told 'em my ſentiments, and, perhaps, that I might ſometimes, to improve by the diſcourſe of ingenious perſons, carry matters further than Reaſon or the Reformation will allow. But I muſt do that juſtice to the bearer of this Letter, Father FRANCIS ô DEULIN, Lector of Divinity, as to own my ſelf not a little pleaſed with his courteous behavior and good literature. The leaſt I cou'd therefore do in return of ſo much kindneſs and friendſhip, was to recommend him, according to his own deſire, to a perſon of your Excellency's extraordinary candor and capacity, not doubting by my own experience, but that during his ſtay at Vienna, you'll not only favor him with your protection (he being a good Imperialiſt, without which I wou'd not eſpouſe him) and be ready to forward or countenance him in all lawful occaſions. But I am confident his own merit will prevail farther than any thing I can ſay in his behalf.

I am *&c.*

A

Mr. TOLAND.

Hanover, ce 30 *d'Avril* 1709.

MONSIEUR,

J'AY receu à mon retour le preſent de vôtre Livre avec l'honneur de votre Lettre, & je vous en remercie. Mon abſence a été longue ; autrement je vous aurois répondu pluſtôt.

Il y a pluſieurs bonnes remarques dans tous vos ouvrages, & je vous avouë facilement, que TITE LIVE n'etoit rien moins que ſuperſtitieux. Monſieur HUET en appliquant les Fables des Payens à MOYSE, a voulu pluſtôt faire paroitre ſon erudition que ſon exactitude, dont il a pourtant donné de bonnes preuves ailleurs ; & ſon Livre des *Demonſtrations Evangeliques* ne laiſſe pas d'eſtre tres inſtructif, nonobſtant qu'il s'y donne carriere, en ſe jouant des Mythologies. Vous avez fort raiſon, Monſieur, de donner des grands eloges à HERODOTE. STRABON eſt un auteur grave, mais lors qu'il parle de MOYSE, il paroiſt qu'il prend les actions & les ſentimens de ce Legiſlateur ſelon les preventions & les chimeres des Grecs. Il n'en avoit apparemment que des notices confuſes, & il ſe trompe manifeſtement en croyant que le Temple de Jeruſalem a été l'ouvrage de Moyse, que les voiſins des Hebreux avoient des coûtumes ſemblables aux leurs, & que la circonciſion & la defenſe de certaines viandes auprès des Iuifs a été poſterieure à Moyse.

Je ne ſay, ſi vous avez trouvé, Monſieur, dans la Langue des Coptes ou Egyptiens qu'elle convient avec celle des Pheniciens & des Arabes, comme vous dites p. 145. Feu M. Acoluthus de Breſlau la croyoit convenir avec celle des Armeniens: mais ſes preuves ne me ſatisfaiſoient point. C'eſt une Langue ſort differente des autres, que nous connoiſſons.

Pour ce qui eſt de vôtre but, j'avouë qu'on ne ſauroit aſſez foudroyer la Superſtition; pourveu qu'on donne en même temps les moyens de la diſtinguer de la veritable Religion; autrement on court riſque d'enveloper l'une dans la ruine de l'autre auprès des hommes, qui vont aiſement aux extremités; comme il eſt arrivé en France, où la bigoterie a rendu la devotion même ſuſpecte: car une diſtinction verbale ne ſuffit pas. Ainſi j'eſpere que vous ſerez porté à éclaircir la verité, comme vous avez travaillé à rejetter le menſonge.

Vous faites ſouvent mention, Monſieur, de l'opinion de ceux qui croyent qu'il n'y a point d'autre Dieu, ou d'autre eſtre eternel, que le Monde, c'eſt à dire, la matiere & ſa connexion (comme vous l'expliquez p. 75.) ſans que cet eſtre eternel ſoit intelligent (p. 156.); ſentiment que STRABON attribuë à MOYSE ſelon vous (p. 156.), & que vous même attribuez aux Philoſophes de l'Orient, & particulierement à ceux de la Chine (p. 118.). Et vous dites même (p. 115.) qu'on y peut appliquer (mais par equivoque) l'Eſtre parfait, l'Alpha & l'Omega, ce qui a eſté, qui eſt, & qui ſera; ce qui eſt tout en tous, dans lequel nous ſommes, nous nous remuons, & nous vivons, formules de la Sainte Ecriture. Mais comme cette opinion (que vous marquez rejetter vous même) eſt auſſi pernicieuſe, qu'elle eſt mal fondée; il eut été à ſouhaiter, Monſieur, que vous ne l'euſſiez rapportée qu'avec une refutation convenable, que vous donnerez peut-être ailleurs. Mais il ſeroit tousjours mieux de ne pas differer l'antidote aprez le venin. Et pour dire la verité, il ne paroiſt pas que la pluſpart de ceux des anciens & des modernes, qui ont parlé du Monde comme d'un Dieu, ayent crû ce Dieu deſtitué de connoiſſance. Vous ſavés qu'ANAXAGORE joignoit l'Intelligence avec la Matiere. Les Platoniciens ont conçû une Ame du Monde, & il paroit que la doctrine des Stoiciens y revenoit auſſi: de ſorte que le Monde ſelon eux étoit une maniere d'Animal ou d'Eſtre vivant le plus parfait qui ſe puiſſe, & dont les corps particuliers n'eſtoient que les membres. Il ſemble que STRABON auſſi l'entend ainſi dans le paſſage que vous cités. Les Chinois mêmes, & autres Orientaux conçoivent certains Eſprits du Ciel & de la Terre, & peut-être même, qu'il y en a parmy eux, qui conçoivent un Eſprit ſupreme de l'Univers. De ſorte que la difference entre tous ces Philoſophes (ſur tout les anciens) & entre le veritable Theologien, conſiſteroit en ce que ſelon nous & ſelon la verité, Dieu eſt au deſſus de l'Univers corporel, & en eſt l'auteur & le maiſtre (*intelligentia ſupramundana*); au lieu que le Dieu de ces Philoſophes n'eſt que l'Ame du monde, ou même l'Animal, qui en reſulte. Cependant leur Tout (*πᾶν*) n'eſtoit pas ſans intelligence, non plus que nôtre Eſtre ſuprême. Madame l'Electrice a couſtume de citer & de louer particulierement ce paſſage de l'Ecriture, qui demande s'il eſt raiſonnable que l'auteur de l'œuil ne voye pas, & que l'auteur de l'oreille n'entende pas; c'eſt à dire, qu'il n'y ait point de connoiſſance dans le premier Eſtre, dont vient la connoiſſance dans les autres.

Et à proprement parler, s'il n'y a point d'Intelligence univerſelle dans le monde, on ne pourra point le concevoir comme une Subſtance veritablement une: ce ne ſera qu'un *aggregatum*, un aſſemblage, comme ſeroit un troupeau de moutons, ou bien un étang plein de poiſſons. Ainſi en faire une Subſtance eternelle, qui meritât le nom de Dieu, ce ſeroit ſe jouer des mots, & ne rien dire ſous de belles paroles. Les erreurs diſparoiſſent, lors qu'on conſidere aſſés les ſuites un peu negligées de ce grand Principe, qui porte qu'il n'y a rien, dont il n'y ait une raiſon qui determine pourquoy cela eſt ainſi pluſtôt qu'autrement: ce qui nous oblige d'aller au delà de tout ce qui eſt materiel, parce que la raiſon des determinations ne s'y ſauroit trouver.

Les deux ouvrages l'un en Latin l'autre en Italien que GIORDANO BRUNO a publié *de l'univers* & *de l'infini*, & que j'ay lûs autrefois, font voir que cet auteur ne manquoit pas de penetration. Mais malheureuſement il eſt allé au delà des juſtes bornes de la raiſon. Il donnoit auſſi dans les Chimeres de l'Art de RAYMOND LULLE. Je n'ay jamais lû ſon *ſpaccio della Beſtia triomfante:* il me ſemble, qu'on m'en a parlé un jour en France, mais je ne le ſaurois aſſeurer: il y a trop long temps. Ne faudroit il point dire *ſpecchio* au lieu de *ſpaccio?* M. DE LA CROSE m'a dit, que vous luy avez monſtré ce Livre.

Madame l'Electrice ſe porte encore bien, graces à Dieu. Elle vient de perdre ſa ſoeur Abbeſſe de Maubuiſſon bien plus agée qu'elle, & qui s'eſt aſſez bien portée juſqu'à ſa derniere année. Je crois que Monſeigneur le Prince Electoral ira encore faire la campagne.

Au reſte je ſuis avec zele,

Votre tres humble & tres obeiſſant ſerviteur.

LEIBNIZ.

P. S. Mes amis m'ont preſſé de faire mettre au net mes conſiderations ſur la Liberté de l'Homme & la Juſtice de Dieu par rapport à l'Origine du Mal : dont une bonne partie avoit été autresfois couchée ſur le papier pour faire lire à la Reine de Pruſſe qui le deſiroit. J'y examine toutes les difficultez de M. BAYLE & tache de les reſoudre, pendant que je rends juſtice à ſon merite. Car je n'aime pas d'accuſer les gens ſur des ſimples ſoupçons.

TO

Mr. LEIBNIZ.

Feb. 14, 1710. N. S.

SIR,

I Lately did my ſelf the honour to ſend you the *Letter* I publiſh'd that very day, as an antidote againſt Dr. SACHEVERELL's ſeditious Sermon; and the Articles ſince exhibited againſt that Incendiary by the Commons, ſhew that I did not only rightly apprehend the ſcope of his writings, but that I no where ſtretch'd his meaning, and that his principal view has been the defeating of the Succeſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. I ſhou'd have ſent you freely the Articles at large, whereof I have an authentick copy; but that I ſuppoſe your Envoy at our Court wou'd not leave the Elector to the blundering

ing abſtracts of Gazettes, in a matter that ſo nearly and eſſentially concerns himſelf and his Poſterity.

I then promis'd by the following poſt to ſend a larger pacquet concerning your ſelf: but your Bookſeller TROYEL, who offer'd me his ſervice in this particular, was not prepar'd enough till now, that he has ſome ſheets of yours to ſend. Some time ago, he told me he was printing your *Conſiderations upon the Liberty of Man, and the Juſtice of God, with relation to the Origin of Evil*; and that you were making ſome addition to it, upon the account of what Dr. KING, the Archbiſhop of Dublin, has written upon the argument. Tho' TROYEL, without your permiſſion, would not let me read your Conſiderations, yet I was eaſily perſuaded, that the moſt ſolid and accurate Monſieur LEIBNIZ wou'd reconcile thoſe points infinitely better than that Prelate, who, ſince the publication of the other Book, has printed a *Sermon* likewiſe (which I may term his *curae ſecundae*) upon this very ſubject. But a friend of mine in England, a Lay-man like your ſelf, and a Gentleman of a good eſtate, has juſt now publiſh'd a notable cenſure of this Sermon, which he has ſent me with ſome other things, and which I thought wou'd not only be proper, but likewiſe agreeable to you at this juncture. I have therefore deliver'd them this morning to your Bookſeller for this purpoſe. A word now to your former Letter.

My *Adeiſidaemon* will be reprinted at the Hague, as ſoon as I tranſmit thither an additional Diſſertation, tho' upon a different ſubject. I ſhan't make the leaſt alteration either in *Adeiſidaemon* or the *Origines Judaicae*: ſince the attempts to anſwer or cenſure them appear to be as impotent as they were malicious, and therefore have confirm'd others no leſs than my ſelf in the truth of my allegations; for their invidious conſequences I utterly diſclaim as illogical and falſe. The epiſtolar animadverſions of my true friends, I take as kindly, as I have treated thoſe of my envyers with contempt: but none of thoſe whom I juſtly admire and revere, have been more pertinent and candid than your ſelf, which indeed is your moſt laudable behaviour towards all mankind.

You frankly acknowledge that Livy was nothing leſs than ſuperſtitious, tho' certain Journaliſts would fooliſhly endeavour, out of mere oppoſition, to produce the contrary; wherein they only ſhew the littleneſs of their ſpite, and the greatneſs of their ignorance, from which character I muſt needs exempt the Gentlemen of Leipſick, who have done me juſtice to my ſatisfaction.

I wholly agree to what you ſay about carefully diſtinguiſhing Religion from Superſtition, leſt the one be unwarily involv'd in our cenſure of the other: and 'tis to your zeal for keeping inviolably to this rule, that I muſt attribute a few miſtakes, that have ſlipt you in relation to the *Origines Judaicae.* After beſtowing a juſt commendation upon STRABO, you add, that he repreſented the Actions and Doctrines of MOSES according to the prejudices and chimeras of the Greeks: whereas in almoſt every particular he gives a quite different account of him, from what the Greeks, or their Latin copiers, have left upon record; and the deciſion of this point depending upon fact, I need ſay no more about it, till the paſſages be produc'd that I have overlook'd or miſunderſtood. Where he had his materials is another queſtion, of which, I have yet ſaid nothing, but only ſhewn how fraudulently Monſieur HUET had miſrepreſented him. Neither does STRABO, SIR, (as you charge him) any where ſay that MOSES built the Temple of Jeruſalem, but only that he conducted the Jews to the place where that Fabrick ſtood in our Author's time, *και απηγαγεν επι τον τοπον τȣτον, οπȣ νυν εϛι το εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις κτισμα*; and he afterwards very plainly aſcribes the erecting of it, as a real Cittadel, tho' under the pretence of a Temple, to thoſe Tyrants who had preverted the Moſaick Inſtitutions. The Queſtion is not all this while how much Strabo was in the right, but what he preciſely thought, whether in the wrong or not. As to the Rites he affirms were introduc'd after the time of Moses, perhaps he's miſtaken in thoſe you ſpecify: but in the *Reſpublica Moſaica* I ſhall unanſwerably prove that many things, both rites and precepts in that abridgment we call the *Pentateuch*, are long poſterior to Moses; and this will I do after quite another manner, than Spinosa cou'd, or Le Clerc wou'd have done. You add, that Strabo's manifeſtly miſtaken, when he ſays that the neighbours of the Jews had many ceremonies and cuſtoms like to theirs. This he no where ſays, tho' I do; nor can any man doubt of it that reads their Maimonides, or our Spencer. From theſe and more antient Authorities I ſhall demonſtrate this thing in the foreſaid work, and not from the paſſage of Strabo, where *δια την ὁμιλιαν* ought to have been tranſlated *by reaſon of acquaintance or commerce* (propter conſuetudinem aut commercium) and not *of rites or manners*, as it is there. This is the only place where thro' inadvertence I have left him wrong tranſlated; for from the third word *μιγαδων* I have corrected the verſion even to the end.

You own that Monſieur Huet, in applying the Pagan Fables to the Perſon or Doctrine of Moses, intended rather to ſhew his learning than his exactneſs; and I agree with you, that in other things he has ſhewn himſelf exact enough. But this ſubject, methinks, requir'd more exactneſs than Romances either in Love or Philoſophy; and his very title of *Demonſtration* ought to have remov'd afar off every thing that was not of the utmoſt accuracy. But the truth of it is, that, whatever I may with you aſcribe to his learning, there runs a large vein of Prieſtcraft throughout that tedious work, which has not charms enough to make any Infidel read it; and you, who have no ſuperior in the Mathematical ſciences, well know, that the very arrangement of his Propoſitions (to ſay nothing of what he alledges for proof of 'em) is far from being exact. This, as I underſtand from France, I ſhall be ſoon oblig'd to prove, which will coſt me neither time nor pains, as having it ready cut and dry'd; and, in the mean while, I ſend you the character of his work from a very able man in Germany, and one you intimately know.

You doubt whether I have found any affinity between the Coptick Language, and that of the Phœnicians and Arabians. But I have neither in page 141, to which you refer, nor any where elſe, mention'd the Coptick Language; as believing that Jargon ſo call'd at this day, to have very few genuine remains of the ancient Egyptian Language: and ſo for ought I know, Monſieur ACOLUTHUS of

Breſlau might have been in the right in comparing it with Armenian, which I don't underſtand. Yet, if your curioſity will require it, I am ready to ſhew you, that the Egyptian words preſerved in the Bible, and thoſe in other old writings (except ſome introduc'd under the great Kings) were as much of the ſame origin and conſtruction with the Hebrew, as Arabick or Cadean; and as Swediſh or Iſlandiſh are with the preſent German, and any other Dialect of that with the old Gothick.

As to what you ſaid with regard to two other points, the one of JORDANO BRUNO and his writings, eſpecially his *Spaccio de la Beſtia triomfante*; and the other of the Pantheiſtick opinion of thoſe who believe no other eternal Being but the Univerſe, I ſhall do my ſelf the favor to write you in my next. Pray, let me have your thoughts of my printed Letter, with the liberty of reading what's printed of your work; and be pleas'd to direct your anſwer to be left for me at TROYEL's. After my duty and ſervice, where juſtly due, I am *&c.*

TO

Mr. LEIBNIZ.

SIR,

LAST poſt day I gave a Letter for you, and two ſmall Books, to your Bookſeller TROYEL; who promis'd to ſend them, with other things of his own, without delay. But that Letter was too long already to add any more to it, and therefore I ſhall do my ſelf the honor at preſent to anſwer another point in your former Letter, concerning JORDANO BRUNO NOLANO, and his writings. Several beſides you had a curioſity to ſee the *Spaccio della Beſtia trionfante* (*Beſtiae triumphantis expulſio*) and at laſt I found my ſelf oblig'd to ſend as far as Vienna, a kind of Diſſertation upon this ſubject, which is all that ſeems neceſſary in general, and which I encloſe herein for your peruſal. My Copier is indeed a very young Lad, but in reading over his tranſcript, I have corrected all his miſtakes. I confeſs ſomething more particular ought to have been ſaid concerning the *Spaccio*, which of a printed Book, is I believe the rareſt in the world. But on the other hand, 'tis not a ſecret to be communicated to every body. Yet as very few are maſters of ſo much judgment and diſcretion as Monſieur LEIBNIZ, 'twou'd be a derogation to both, as well as a breach of the honor and friendſhip I profeſs for him, if I did not impart what I have written to another excellent perſon on this ſame argument; which is firſt, a moſt circumſtantial account of the Book it ſelf, and ſecondly, a ſpecimen of it, containing three articles out of forty eight. This you may depend upon receiving per next, and in the mean while, permit me to have recourſe to you, as an Oracle in Hiſtory, for the ſolution of a doubt that has long puzzl'd me about the Chineſe Language, and which the late publication of ſome Books in Italy has ſtrongly reviv'd.

I need not quote any particular Authors for what you have read in ſo many, I mean the extreme and almoſt inſuperable difficulty of a foreigner's ever learning, to any tolerable degree, that Language, or even of a native Chineſe to be perfect maſter of it under many years application. This proceeds in part (ſay they) from the hieroglyphical forms of their Letters, vary'd into numberleſs figures, but not ſo expreſſive of what they repreſent, as to make 'em eaſily intelligible; partly from the multifarious accentuating or different pronunciations of one and the ſame word or character, which reſpectively vary the ſignifications thereof; and laſtly from the infinite number of words, as well as from the moſt frequent uſe of figurative expreſſions. The Jeſuits urge this difficulty at preſent more eagerly than ever in their famous Diſpute againſt the Dominicans, and in certain *Reflections*, printed by them laſt year at Rome I have among others noted this paſſage in the 12th Reflection. *La lingua Cineſe é coſi difficile e oſcura, che per quanto ſtudio ci ponga un Europeo, ſe in eſſa non ſiaſi allevato da teneri anni, & non vi abbia con oſtinato ſtudio di molti luſtri, & per vero deſiderio di convertire quell' anime, tutta impiegata la forza d'un grand ingegno, non può giugnere a ſaperne quanto ne ſappia il minimo de' Dottori Cineſi.* Thirty years ſtudy is the ſpace they commonly allow an European, to be able to judge or decide any controverſy ariſing from the genius of the Language. The contrary of all this, you may remember, was affirm'd to you, and by an Italian Auguſtine Friar, about three years ago at Wolfembuttle, who afterwards repeated the ſame thing to me at Berlin; nor did I ſee any reaſon to queſtion his veracity in this point, tho' I vehemently ſuſpected what he ſaid of the Compaſs. But I am yet more than ever perplex'd, by an *Anſwer* that has been lately publiſh'd to the ſaid *Reflections* at Turin by a learned Dominican, who produces no contemptible teſtimonies againſt the aſſertion of the Jeſuits, of which I ſhall here tranſcribe a couple. The firſt is cited out of the fourth part of Dr. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI's *Giro del mondo*, Book the ſecond, and Chapter the 9th; this Author having travell'd over all China, was a great favorer of the Jeſuits, and his words are theſe: *la lingua Cineſe al parere de Miſſionari (Geſuiti) é la più facile di tutte l'altre Orientali. Se per apprendere una lingua principalmente fa d'uopo memoria, quella lingua ſarà più facile che averà minor copia di parole; perche ſempre é più agevole ritenerne una picciola quantita, che molte: ora, la lingua Cineſe é compoſta di ſole* 320 *monoſillable, quando la Greca & la Latina hanno una infinità di parole, di tempi differenti, nomi, & perſone: adunque eſſa devo eſſere aſſai più facile. Si aggiugne à ciò che non fa di meſtieri altra memoria che degli accenti, iquali ſono come la forma, da cui ſi diſtingue la ſignificazione delle parole. Il popolo però pronuncia bene il tutto con ſomma facilità, ſenza ſapere che coſa ſieno tuoni ò accenti, che non ſono conoſciuti che da' Letterati. Non potrà di ciò dubbitarſi, quante volte ſi voglia por mente che li Padri Miſſionari, che vanno in Cina, con l'applicazione di due anni predicano, confeſſano, e compongono in quella lingua, come ſe foſſe la loro propria; quantunque vadano in quelle parti già auvanzati in età, onde hanno compoſti e ſtampati moltiſſimi libri, che ſono ammirati e ſtimati da' medemi Cineſi.* But leſt the Jeſuits ſhou'd cavil againſt the Authority of GEMELLI, as being a Lay man, my Author produces an unexceptionable witneſs; namely father GABRIEL MAGALLIANS, a Portugueſe Jeſuit, moſt converſant in the

Chineſe language, who lived thirty ſeven years in China, and twenty five of theſe in the capital city of Pekin. This Miſſionary in the 96th page of his *Relation* has this paſſage: *La lingue Cineſe é più facile della Greca, della Latina, e di tutte l'altre d' Europa. E certo che uno, ilquale ſtudi con applicazione e buono metodo, può in un' anno molto ben' intendere e parlare in idioma Cineſe. Ed in fatti vediamo che tutti li noſtri padri, che preſentemente faticano in queſta miſſione, in capa a due anni ſanno coſi bene queſta lingua, che confeſſano, catechizano, predicano, e compongono con tanto facilità, come ſe foſſe la lor lingua naturale.* This is a plain contradiction to what the Jeſuits have pretended ever ſince the Papal Decree appear'd likely to go againſt them; alledging that the other Miſſionaries had not ſufficient knowldge of the Chineſe Language, to determine whether the controverted Rites and expreſſions were atheiſtical and idolatrous or not. But the Franciſcan and Auguſtine, as well as the Dominican Miſſionaries, very juſtly reply, that ſuppoſing the Chineſe Tongue ſo difficult to them as is pretended, it muſt needs be as difficult likewiſe to the Jeſuits; or elſe on the contrary, as eaſy to them as to the Jeſuits. This is certainly true, and therefore the inquiry between you and me, is not how the ſeveral diſputes or intereſts of theſe Gentlemen are or may be determin'd, but what is true in fact concerning the difficulty or facility of the Chineſe Language,

guage, wherein by the concordant confeſſion of both, there are contain'd ſuch vaſt numbers of excellent Books, and containing a Philoſophy eſpecially very different from what obtains in our parts of the world. Wherefore I deſire the favor of you, not only to communicate your thoughts to me on this ſubject, and ſuch obſervations as I'm ſure in a long tract of reading you have moſt judiciouſly collected, but to refer me likewiſe to ſuch Books, as you ſhall think the moſt proper to give me due light and ſatisfaction.

After preſenting my duty and ſervice as before, I remain,

SIR,

Your moſt obſervant and devoted admirer.

A

Mr. TOLAND.

Hanover ce 1. *de Mars* 1710.

MONSIEUR,

J'Ay receu ce que vous m'avez envoyé contre le Docteur SACHEVEREL, auſſi bien que le Sermon de M. l'Archeveque de Dublin, avec la refutation, dont je vous remercie. J'ay trouvé de bonnes choſes dans

le Livre de ce Prelat ſur l'*origine du mal*; mais je ne ſaurois goûter ſon ſentiment, qui tend à nous faire croire, qu'il y a dans les ſubſtances libres une volonté ou election, qui n'eſt point fondée dans la repreſentation du bien ou du mal des objects, mais dans je ne ſay quel pouvoir arbitraire de choiſir ſans ſujet. Son *Sermon* auſſi ne me ſatisfait pas, lors qu'il ſemble nier, que nous ayons de veritables notions des attributs de Dieu.

Il eſt vray, que STRABON eſt un bon Auteur: mais je crois pourtant, qu'on peut dire qu'il ſe trompe fort en parlant des Juifs. Il ne paroit point fondé d'avancer les points ſuivans: 1, que des Edomites chaſſez de l'Arabie, ſe ſont joints aux Juifs & ont pris leur loix: 2, que les Juifs ſont Egyptiens d'origine: 3, que MOYSE a été un Prétre Egyptien: 4, que MOYSE a crû, que Dieu eſt le Monde: 5, que MOYSE a occupé les environs de Jeruſaſalem: 6, qu'il a obtenu ce pays ſans combat: 7, que le pays des Juifs eſtoit peu digne d'étre matiere de combats: 8, qu'au lieu d'armes MOYSE a employé les ceremonies de la Religion: 9, que les peuples voiſins ſe ſont joints à luy: 10, que ſes ſucceſſeurs ont introduit la circumciſion, & l'abſtinence de certaines viandes. Je ne veux point éplucher le reſte, mais je ne ſaurois diſſimuler la faute qu'il a faite dans un fait voiſin de ſon temps, en croyant qu'HERODE a été un des Prétres ou Pontifes des Juifs. M. CASAUBON a remarqué encore, que STRABON trompé par d'autres auteurs, a confondu le Lac de Sirbone avec le Lac Aſphaltite, où le Jordan ſe perd.

La Langue Cophte garde beaucoup de l'ancien Egyptien, & des perſonnes y verſées le croyent bien different de l'Arabe.

M. HUET étant, ſans doute, un des plus ſavans hommes de nôtre temps, merite qu'on parle de luy avec moderation.

Quant aux Chinois, je crois qu'il faut diſtinguer entre leur Caracteres & leur Langue. Les Caracteres en ſont difficiles à apprendre, & les Jeſuites ont raiſon de ſoutenir, qu'il faut beaucoup de temps pour qu'on ſoit en état de bien entendre les livres de cette nation; mais la Langue n'eſt pas fort difficile, quand on en a attrappé la prononciation: auſſi eſt elle fort imparfaite; les ſavans ne la cultivant point, parce qu'ils s'attachent aux Caracteres. Le Pere GRIMALDI m'a dit, qu'il arrive quelque fois aux Chinois dans la converſation de tracer les caracteres en l'air ou autrement, pour ſe mieux expliquer.

Au reſte je ſuis

MONSIEUR,

votre tres humble
& tres obeiſſant ſerviteur,
LEIBNIZ.

TO

Mr. * * *.

York-buildings, Feb. 9, 1710-11.

SIR,

SOmething I was to finiſh for Prince EUGENE, with whom I hold a literary correſpondence, and which I have tranſmitted to his Highneſs laſt poſt, is the reaſon I have ſo ſeldom apply'd to you in perſon or paper (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſince my arrival. But tho' I intend to do my ſelf the honor of waiting on you to morrow, yet my duty obliges me to ſend you this Letter to day. I have, indeed, been very buſy hitherto (which hurry is now over) yet I have been at times in all places and with all people. My long abſcence has given me a good pretext for an unaffected reſerve, as ſeeming ignorant of every thing at home, which makes all men deſirous to inform me on the foot of their own ſchemes and principles, being God knows ſometimes extremely different, and frequently inconſiſtent.

That I never admir'd the late Miniſtry, to whom I was under no tie of affection or gratitude, you remember as well as any man; and you know, that by the Miniſtry, I don't mean every man that was then in Employment: but that I neither diſparage nor commend them now, any more than over-flatter the preſent Miniſtry, which I am likewiſe far from under-rating, is what you'll be doubtleſs inform'd of from the Coffee-houſes, where you great men (be of what ſide you will) need have no ſpies in pay; ſince there are ſo many officious expectants in each of them ready to perform that ſervice. I therefore hear and ſee every thing. I have the pleaſure very often by croſs queſtions, or a ſeeming compliance, to draw that out of ſome people, for which they wou'd be ready to hang themſelves, if they thought I rightly underſtood them; tho', after ſtarting their deſigns, to the beſt of my ability, their perſons for me ſhall be always ſafe. Bantering and fooling, indifference and doubtfulneſs, are ſucceſsful engines in this art of disburthening, which you know the French call *tirer les vers du nez*, and we Engliſh *pumping*. In ſhort, I ſet up not pretendedly, but in downright earneſt, for converſing with all men and about all things; which conduct I have exactly obſerv'd ever ſince my going laſt abroad, and ſhall ever continue it.

Let this ſerve as a preface, SIR, to whatever I may have occaſion to write or ſay to you for the future, and in particular to what I am now going to tell you; which is, that a violent ſuſpicion is ſtrongly rooted in the minds of many, and indirectly affecting all, as if I know not what long-winded meaſures were concerted in favour of the Pretender's more eaſy acceſs to the Britiſh Empire; and conſequently againſt the rightful and lawful claim of the Houſe of Hanover. Believe me, this notion alone does the Court more harm, than all the artifices of all the men that are diſoblig'd in the nation. I will not diſpute but that the late Miniſters and their creatures would gladly clog the wheels; as ſome ill-affected, ignorant, or diſcontented Tories wou'd drive 'em much too faſt. But other Whigs and Tories wou'd not be willinger to get more money than they have at preſent, than to improve by any hands the money they have got already, cou'd they entirely truſt the Government. Nay, tho' I ſhou'd agree with your Projectors, that ſome keep up their money out of ſullenneſs, and others in expectation of greater advantages when the Court is in greater diſtreſs; let me take the liberty nevertheleſs to aſſure you, that there are a third ſort, and thoſe not the leaſt wealthy or numerous, who for the reaſon given before (well or ill grounded) dare not at this juncture part with their money on any terms, tho' ever ſo inviting. Such people have with the greateſt earneſtneſs and ſincerity beg'd me for a reaſon to ſet them at eaſe.

Now ſince by conquering this ſame point of Money, you conquer all other difficulties, I think it behoves the Court by ſome unaffected method (yet as much for their own honor as poſſible) to ſettle the minds of the ſubjects; and to act in reſpect to the Houſe of Hanover with more openneſs and heartineſs than they are hitherto obſerv'd to have done either there or elſewhere. Dry and general expreſſions will not do: friends muſt be confirm'd, and enemies put out of hope. I cou'd tell you the anſwers that men have ready in their mouths to that part of the Queen's Speech which relates to the Succeſſion, and which (by the way) ſeems even to me not to be over punctually follow'd by the countenance and preferment given ſince to certain perſons whereof I ſaw a liſt, with whoſe former conduct and characters I am throughly acquainted, and who I have reaſon to believe are not chang'd by an oath, whatever they may be by a place. They cannot at leaſt be ſaid to be *zealous* for the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

I am not a ſtranger to the principles and practices of certain Scots I can meet every day about Weſtminſter, no more than to the peculiar conſtruction they put on the Oath of Abjuration. I know what is further ſaid in the world concerning the affected ſtile, or rather incoherent jargon of the late Addreſſes; nor want I explanations from ſome of the Addreſſers themſelves. I am glad however on other accounts that ſuch Addreſſes there were. But to paſs over a thouſand things of this nature and tendency, I muſt not forget that ſome of the Writers that wou'd diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for the preſent Miniſtry (as the *Examiner*, for example) have given but too much ground for theſe ſurmiſes by very odd and imprudent, if not diſaffected and villanous expreſſions.

'Tis likewiſe prodigious to think, that LESLY, who deſerves to be hang'd, was not as much puniſht at leaſt for his *Good old Cauſe*, as Sir ROWLAND GWYN for his *Letter*, or GILDON for publiſhing and defending it. Tho' I don't mention 'em, I am not ignorant of other ſuch Books that have paſs'd uncenſur'd, to the no ſmall amazement of every body. There are ſo many ſcatter'd particulars of this kind, which tho' ſingly perhaps unheeded, yet collected and ſet fairly in one view, wou'd (I durſt wager) bring down ſtocks lower than ever.

Certain informations now before the Attorney General againſt two Scots Officers, as alſo againſt a man from Exeter (to name no more) and the ſham-plot of thoſe two rampant St. German Prieſts LANGTON and HIGGINS, againſt ſome honeſt Gentlemen in Ireland, whereof I have a very particular account, from one of the Gentlemen themſelves, cannot but make people remember and dread the days of King CHARLES and King JAMES. 'Tis ever an ill ſign when Informers are encourag'd.

I will not inſiſt on the choice of Miniſters to the Court of Hanover, almoſt from the beginning: nor on certain, I was going to ſay childiſh, ways of treating them, of which they'll be the laſt themſelves to tell you; and I own that I am far from being commiſſion'd to do ſo, or any thing like it. I am however afraid, and I wiſh I may never have occaſion to ſhew, that you have all of you a wrong notion of that place, where you may depend upon it that there are neither Whigs nor Tories; and where as Mr. H*** (if he has any faith in me) is the higheſt in their eſteem for a Politician, ſo he may be the firſt in their confidence as a friend, without forfeiting any of his duty to his preſent Royal Miſtreſs, whoſe true intereſt and theirs are, in their opinion, inſeparable. Never, I am ſure, were heirs apparent or preſumptive leſs diſpos'd to make the poſſeſſor uneaſy, or leſs in haſt to leap at a Crown, being already ſo eaſy themſelves. Yet this is far from rendring them indifferent, as ſome ſhallow monſters have miſconſtrued their diſcretion; the Elector's language being unvariably this, that he'll always do by the Queen, as he wou'd have his ſon do by him. The late Miniſters, we may naturally imagine will not be wanting (if poſſible) to ruffle this their tranquillity, as well as improve the miſtruſtful diſpoſitions, and, I hope, ill-grounded jealouſies of the people.

As to Credit (which is the main point at preſent) the very perſons in the City, who abhor the thoughts of any deſign for the Pretender in Court or Parliament, yet finding thoſe that believe ſuch deſigns keep up their money, will likewiſe keep up theirs for fear of the worſt: ſince the leaſt confuſions on this account muſt ruin a world of men. 'Tis in your will, I am perſuaded, and for God's ſake let it be in your power, to obviate the malicious deſigns of your own and the Nation's enemies. A method may be eaſily found out: tho' I have known a boat overſet, becauſe the skipper wou'd not ſlacken his ſail at the deſire of a paſſenger. Our Britiſh Court muſt often condeſcend to ſatisfy the doubts or deſires of the People, nor does even the French King always neglect it.

Pray, Sir, miſtake me not; as if I had the Engliſh ſpleen or a German penſion. I own it is impoſſible for any man to be more in the intereſts of that moſt illuſtrious Family than I am; and as I hope to out-live every man alive that's older than my ſelf but you, ſo I have a real and hearty concern for what's to come. But for all that, you may ſafely rely upon it, that this Memorial is deliver'd out of perfect good will to you, moſt ſincerely intended for your ſervice, and I doubt not but ſo you'll underſtand it. I am in my ſelf entirely ſecure as to the event. Tho' time and things have taught me to be cautious of every body, yet I am convinc'd that too much jealouſy is as bad, if not worſe, than none at all. Were I ſure, as I am certain of the contrary, that every man and woman they ſuſpect was imbark'd in ſuch a Plot, yet I ſhou'd not much fear for the Succeſſion's blowing up or ſinking their ſhip. Nay were the Pretender landed at Leith or in the Downs (which is believ'd to be the meaning of the hieroglyphical Almanack from Chriſt-Church, where the allegorical health is *Confuſion to Philoſophy*, that is to SOPHIA and her *friends*) ſhould this happen, I ſay, I ſhou'd not deſpair of his being quickly driven out again; and in this caſe foreigners, I fancy, wou'd inter-meddle whether we wou'd or no. But 'tis better he ſhou'd not come at all, leſt you or I ſhou'd fall in the ſcuffle.

For the reſt, I do aſſure you, Dear SIR, that what I have laid before you is not wholly pick'd from common fame, nor yet the language of tools or factious fellows; but that of entire truſt in me from ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the Nation and

City, the apprehenſions of Tories as well as of Whigs, many of whom have ever deſpiſed thoſe whom you may be apt to ſuſpect of putting ſuch notions in their heads, or ſuch words in their mouths. But to conclude, I have beſides a demonſtration to my ſelf that a majority of the nation does more or leſs believe the matter that has occaſion'd this Letter. The Jacobites give out they are cockſure of it, the Whigs fear it may be too true, and many of the Tories know not what to think: but I know in ſuch a caſe with whom ſome of them wou'd be moſt likely to join. The October Club, if rightly manag'd, will be rare ſtuff to work the ends of any party. I ſent ſuch an account of thoſe wights to an old Gentlewoman of my acquaintance, as in the midſt of fears will make her laugh. I am with my head, with my pen, and with my heart,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful
and obedient ſervant.

TO

TO

Mrs. * * *.

MADAM,

IF we correſponded in all things as punctually as we have done this week, in interchanging the good news, no pair in hiſtory cou'd exceed us. But by yours before the laſt (for both which I return my heartieſt thanks) I find that a Lady of your acquaintance and my ſelf, differ very much in our notions about Solitude, which I take to be quite another thing from Retirement. I am ready to own that without Retirement one is in a perpetual hurry: it reiterates all our enjoyments by recollection; and furniſhes us with materials as well as deſires for new pleaſures, when we produce our ſelves again upon the theatre. Solitude, on the contrary, not only deprives us of both the paſt and the future, but always inclines the preſent hour to joyleſs melancholy, which ſooner or later ends in ſomething intractable, Timonean, (pardon the word) or perhaps more fatal. And if this be true of the meaneſt and moſt thoughtleſs peaſants, tho' little differing from brutes in all they do; how much more muſt it be ſo of ſuch elevated genius's, whoſe ready and juſt conceptions of things, whoſe proper but unaffected expreſſion, and whoſe engaging affability ever join'd to diſcretion, make them the only Angels, capable to render others happy, and to be ſo themſelves, in converſation, friendſhip, love, or affairs, or all together.

This is exactly the Character of the Lady, who pleads for Solitude; and who you tell me looks upon the Book of Nature, as ſufficient to employ and divert her. Pray acquaint her from me, that no man in the world admires that ſame Book, more than my ſelf, but that it is ſtill only in Retirement; and I fancy I ſhou'd underſtand it better, were ſhe there to tell me the names of the flowers, or I to tell her their virtues: beſides that, after all, we peruſe the Book very imperfectly, if we do not frequent the beau monde, pleaſe and be pleaſed, hear and relate; all which being natural, are ſo many agreeable pages of that infinite volume. I ſhould be very angry at what your acquaintance ſays of *her time of day*; were not their proper perſon the only thing, wherein Ladies of her ſenſe are allow'd to ſpeak by contraries. Perſuade her therefore to come to town, and aſſure her, that whoever looks upon her with my eyes, muſt allow the Picture I ſend you to reſemble her in every particular. I never read it, but I thought ſo, and conſequently thought of herſelf.

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

I Had the honor of receiving your Letter yeſterday by the hands of Dr. F***. The Motto you ſent, being one of five I had ſince collected for your choice, is already ſet in the frontiſpiece: for in ſubjects of this nature, I have as juſt a deference for your taſte and judgment, as ever VIRGIL or HORACE had for VARUS. I likewiſe acknowledge your criticiſm, as to narration in general, to be right, where we ought to be very ſparing of Epithets, except when they are abſolutely requiſite: for they only, and their couſin Adverbs, make all the diſtinction of things, nor can any writing be without them. But on the other hand, I admit not your French *Telemachus*, nor any other the moſt correct French Author for a Rule in Language: for their own is neither a good original, nor capable of imitating ſuch. What Frenchman can ſay the *all-permeating Aether* or *ſwift-footed* ACHILLES? tho' words of this kind be as eſſential to Paſtorals (whether in proſe or verſe) as to Tragic or Epic Poetry.

There may be however a vicious affectation of theſe in ſuch Pieces as moſt require them. Nor do we Authors (and 'tis only lazineſs or a more unpardonable modeſty that keeps you from being of our number) always print every word we write in the firſt heat of our imagination. This ſort of pruning is call'd by our friend HORACE *ambitioſa recidere ornamenta*; and the Recitation of the Antients to their judicious acquaintance (a thing wholly neglected by the Moderns) was principally deſign'd for this purpoſe. Mine was ſo to you: but I had done it in vain, if you had not uſed a liberty wherein nothing is to be blam'd, but the excuſe you make for it. If you don't ſend me word that you have buſineſs or better company to morrow, I ſhall have further diſcourſes with you on this ſubject. In the mean time, believe me to be in the ſtricteſt ſenſe,

SIR,

Your moſt true
and faithful ſervant.

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

SINCE you cannot read the *Memoirs* of Monſieur CASTELNAU in the original, I ſend you a tranſlation of his *Character of Queen* ELIZABETH, which, in my opinion, is a maſter-piece. He had long reſided Ambaſſador at her Court from France, and was very much in her favour, tho' in Religion Popiſh; and, as ſuch, hath often miſrepreſented the Proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe in France: which is an undeniable argument for not ſuſpecting his ſincerity when he ſpeaks well of them.

THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

" THO' this Princeſs was poſſeſt of all " the great qualities that are neceſ- " ſary for reigning a long while, which ſhe " likewiſe did; yet, however good her un-

“ derſtanding might be, ſhe wou'd never “ either decide or undertake any thing of “ her own head, but always imparted every “ thing to her Council. What happen'd in “ the time of AUGUSTUS, when the Tem- “ ple of JANUS was ſhut as a ſign of the uni- “ verſal Peace of the Empire, might be as “ truly ſaid of her reign; for the Queen “ of England having avoided all wars, by “ ſtudying to fix them upon her neighbours “ abroad, rather than to draw them upon “ her own Kingdom, and to feed them at “ home, ſhe preſerv'd her ſubjects by this “ means in very great tranquillity. Nor was “ it with any juſtice that ſhe was taxt by ſome “ with avarice, for not having made any conſi- “ derable liberalities(forſooth) which not only “ load thoſe with envy on whom they are “ conferr'd, when exceſſive; but very often “ are the cauſe of cenſure upon thoſe who “ beſtow them without reaſon, and unleſs the “ gift be a work of charity or neceſſity. “ A further and ſufficient defence againſt this “ unjuſt charge of being govern'd by avarice, “ is, that the ſaid Queen did entirely diſ- “ charge all the debts of her Predeceſſors, “ and put her finances into ſo good order, “ that no Prince of her time did amaſs ſo “ great riches, and levy'd with ſo much “ equity, as ſhe did, without ever laying “ any extraordinary taxes or new-invented “ impoſts to ſqueeze her ſubjects. This ma- “ nagement is the reaſon that for the ſpace of

" eight years ſhe never demanded the ordi-
" nary ſubſidies and free gift, which the Eng-
" liſh are accuſtom'd to grant their Princes
" from three years to three years: and, what
" is more, her ſubjects having offer'd her in
" the year 1570 the uſual ſum without her
" asking of it, ſhe not only thank'd them
" without accepting thereof; but likewiſe
" aſſur'd them, that unleſs abſolute neceſſity
" requir'd it, ſhe wou'd never raiſe a crown
" upon them, but what wou'd be juſt
" neceſſary for ſupporting the government.
" This ſingle action deſerves the higheſt
" praiſe, and may well entitle her to the
" reputation of being extremely liberal.
" But yet further, ſhe neither ſold the of-
" fices of her Kingdom, nor made money
" of them any other way, tho' other Princes
" are wont to give them to the higheſt bid-
" der: a thing that ordinarily corrupts ju-
" ſtice and policy, with all humane and di-
" vine Laws. Beſides her maintaining of
" her ſubjects in peace and tranquillity, ſhe
" continually built a great number of Ships,
" which were the fortreſſes, the baſtions,
" and the ramparts of her State, cauſing a
" new man of war to be launch'd once every
" two years; and ſuch Ships they were, as
" made account to meet with nothing on
" the ſeas capable to reſiſt them. Theſe
" were the buildings, theſe were the Palaces
" that the Queen of England begun from

" her very acceſſion to the throne, and " which ſhe delighted to continue ever " after. She exercis'd withal another ſort " of prudent Liberality, which is, to ſpare " no expences in order to know the ſecrets " of foreign Princes: and this was particu" lar to her, that ſhe choſe rather to lend " without intereſt, than to borrow her ſelf " on any conditions, tho' ever ſo gainful. " She has been indeed moſt baſely calumni" ated with certain Love-Intrigues, which I " can affirm with much ſincerity to have " been mere inventions, and ſtories not on" ly ſpread by malecontents at home, but " likewiſe forg'd in the cloſets of Ambaſſa" dors, to make thoſe Princes averſe to her " alliance, to whom her friendſhip might be " of the greateſt advantage. Had ſhe had an " inclination for the Earl of LEICESTER " (as it was poſitively reported) and that ſhe " had preferr'd him not only to all her own " ſubjects, but likewiſe to thoſe foreign Prin" ces that courted her, what cou'd hinder " her from marrying him? eſpecially, ſeeing " that the three eſtates of her Kingdom, " and the neighbouring Kings and Princes, " did often beg it of her with great earneſt" neſs, or to marry any other, even of her " ſubjects that ſhe might beſt like. But ſhe " was pleaſed to ſay to my ſelf an infinite " number of times, and long before I had " the honor to reſide in her Court, that were " ſhe ever diſpoſed to marry, it ſhou'd only

" be

" be to a Prince of a great and illuſtrious " Family, and of Royal lineage, not inferior " at leaſt to her own; and this more for the " good of her Kingdom, than for any particular affection: nay, and that if ſhe thought " any of her ſubjects were ſo preſumtuous " as to deſire her for a wife, ſhe wou'd " never admit him afterwards into her preſence, but, contrary to her natural diſpoſition very oppoſite to cruelty, ſhe wou'd " play him ſome ill turn; ſo that there remains no reaſon to doubt, but that ſhe was " always no leſs chaſte than prudent, as the " effects do plainly demonſtrate. What ſerves " for a further good proof of what I here " allege, is, the curioſity ſhe had to learn " ſo many Sciences and Languages, beſides " her continual application to affairs of ſtate " foreign and domeſtic, that ſhe cou'd ſcarce " have any leiſure to think of amorous paſſions, which are the offſpring of Idleneſs " but not of Letters: a thing well underſtood by the ancients, when they made " PALLAS the Goddeſs of wiſdom, to be a " virgin, and without a mother, and likewiſe the nine Muſes to be ſo many chaſt " virgins. For all this, I know the Courtiers will ſay, that Honor conſiſts only in reputation, and principally the honor of " women, who are happy if they have but " a good name. Now if I have been carried " ſomewhat too far out of my road to deſcribe the praiſes of this Princeſs, the par-

" ticular knowlege I had of her merits will " ſerve me for a lawful excuſe; as the re- " hearſal of them ſeem'd alſo neceſſary, that " the Queens, who ſhall come after her, " may take the example of her virtues for " their looking-glaſs.

Read now all the Hiſtories that expreſſly or occaſionally relate the Actions of this incomparable Princeſs, and you'll find that this Character might well ſerve for argument to them all: ſo judiciouſly cou'd the French Miniſter croud immenſe matter into a very narrow room. When I write on that ſubject, which I hope to do e'er it be long, I am reſolv'd to take it for my text; and to enlarge on the following heads, viz. That ſhe was,

1. Baſely envied by the Scotch race, and her day aboliſh'd by King James II.

2. Maintaining the ballance of power abroad, and the head of the Proteſtant intereſt every where.

3. No ſingle Miniſtry, but the reſults of a wiſe Council.

4. Preſerv'd peace at home by keeping the war abroad (1), where ſhe always entertained ſufficient forces, both to aſſiſt her allies, which ſhe never abandon'd; and to maintain military Diſcipline in her Kingdom.

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(1) Bellum foris, pax domi.

5. Not prodigal of the public money to worthleſs favourites. The Popiſh Libels on that ſubject againſt a time of need.

6. She did diſcharge the public debts in reality, and not in idea; as the public credit was held up by effects and not by a vote.

7. When ſhe forbore receiving the uſual taxes, ſhe was at the ſame time engag'd in foreign wars. This was liberality to her People.

8. Never rais'd money to enrich favourites, and ſupply the luxury of a Court.

9. No ſelling of offices after the baſeſt manner; that is, beſtowing them as bribes to the turbulent or corrupt, and not as favours to men of merit; and ſplitting them among many to make the more voices, or quartering thoſe you dare not employ on thoſe you do.

10. Her care of augmenting the Fleet, and how it dwindl'd under her Succeſſor, the ſhips ſhe built rotting in the Docks.

11. By paying well for the ſecrets of Princes, ſhe was not at a loſs what meaſures to take, nor ever ſhamefully forc'd to change her ſchemes with every wind.

12. Never borrow'd at exceſſive premiums, a ſure ſign of miſmanagement.

13. Marry'd only to her Kingdom, and not changing her Miniſters with her Lovers. Steddy, and not ſaying and unſaying, denying and affirming, as ſhe was bid; a ſign that thoſe who do ſo, either know not what is a doing at all, or no judges when they do know it.

14. Her prodigious knowledge, her affability, her polite Literature, not mewing her ſelf up, but filling all foreigners with admiration of her wit as well as her wiſdom.

15. Scorn'd to miſally her ſelf with the ſprouts of the Law or the Goſpel.

16. Her example to be follow'd by Kings as well as Queens.

17. Sometimes changing Miniſters, but never meaſures; ſo that her motto of *ſemper eadem*, her own choice and no imitation, was not a ſatyr but a panegyric upon her conduct.

Castelnau, who liv'd in England 23 years, was admirably well acquainted with her genius; and, knowing by our conſtitutions, that other Queens might probably reign here before time cou'd aboliſh his *Memoirs*, he drew up this Character for a guide, an encouragement to their good conduct.

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

THE following abſtract of a French Letter writ from Carolina, in the year 1688, being fall'n into my hands, I thought the account it gives of the honeſt Indians of that Country, would not be unacceptable to you.

An Account of the Indians at Carolina.

I had but little knowledge of Mankind, whilſt the only means I had of judging was from the Books of Morality, and the Converſation of thoſe, amongſt whom I then liv'd. All things are ſo order'd and ſo compos'd there, that 'tis very hard to make a ſound Judgment of what a Man is. The ſubmiſſion one owes to Princes, to Juſtice, and to Eccleſiaſtical Power, do keep men ſo ſtrongly within the bounds of a certain duty, as well as the prevailing cuſtom of yeilding obedience to ſome perſons more powerful then themſelves, and more capable of doing them harm; that it is almoſt impoſſible ever to ſee Man in a ſtate of pure nature: but in this Country, where he ſeems to be free from all theſe tyes and obligations, one ſees him in his true light, and without a mask. And truly one may ſay, that the apparent exaggeration of the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, did never carry farther the deformity of the Jews character, then can be made that of the Chriſtians: ſo far are they from having the marks of a Chriſtian that hardly have they of a rational creature. One ſees them daily exclaming againſt one another, without zeal towards God, without piety or affection, not helping one another, having no other God but their riches, without confidence in divine

Providence, murmuring always againſt him upon the moſt trifling vexation, as if God Almighty were ungrateful in giving ſo ſmall rewards and encouragements to thoſe who make profeſſion of being Chriſtians.

This is it that teacheth me to know what Man is in his depraved ſtate. But on the other hand, God has been pleas'd to grant me a ſight of Man ſuch as he ought to be, and thereby has made me underſtand, that in creating us, he has not left us unprovided of natural abilites to avoid the evil for its uglineſs, and to ſearch after the good for its beauty only; without the fear of puniſhment attending the one, or the hope of recompence to induce us to the practice of the other. Would you imagine, Sir, that the example ſhould be ſeen and found amongſt theſe Indians, of whom you ſeem ſo unwilling to believe any ſuch matter? Yes, Sir, it is theſe very Indians that have made me bluſh for ſhame to be a Man, and yet ſo little reaſonable; and to carry the name of a Chriſtian, and yet ſo remote from the practice of an Evangelical life. We know our Saviour's precepts without obſerving them, and they obſerve them without knowing him: were they to have all the Goſpel word by word by heart, they could not practice it with more exactneſs and ſtrictneſs then they do it already.

One ſees ſo wonderful an union amongſt this People, that you never hear of any diſputes or quarrels among them. They are an induſtrious and laborious Nation; ſubmiſſive to ſuperior Powers, but without being their ſlaves; obeying without repining or grumbling their Sovereign's orders: never minding their own particular Intereſts, when the Publick has need of their ſervice or endeavors; never ſuffering their neighbour to be in want, whilſt they have where-withal to make them ſharers with them; hoſpitable, religious obſervers of their word and promiſe; never lying, never taking away from another what belongs to him; no ways diſſolute, luxurious or debauched; the marry'd women being modeſt and vertuous, as to every thing that looks like gallantry, as well as the unmarry'd; civil and obedient to their husbands, according to the advice of St. Paul: all of them courteous, affable, and obliging towards ſtrangers, no ways ſavage nor moroſe, no ways ungrateful, and never forgetting a good office; valiant and proud in war, tractable and mild in peace, hating thieves, robbers, lyars, and all ſuch as break their word. This is the true Character of the Indians, with whom I converſed moſt. I muſt needs own to you, Sir, that after having liv'd among them ſome weeks, I could not but admire and be amaz'd at the lives of other men, and how we toil and labor for ſuperfluities that we may very eaſily be without. It was amongſt them that I learn'd to ſeek after what is neceſſary, and to undervalue the great hurry of buſineſs of the world, in which, there is nothing but anguiſh and vexation of ſpirit. Good God! What ſenſible difference I found betwixt the happy quietneſs and repoſe I enjoy'd amongſt them, and the trouble I meet with daily amongſt people, a thouſand times more ſavage then they. But, O Sir, if this People were Chriſtians, what pleaſure would there be never to part from them? 'Tis true they are not Chriſtians, and 'tis to be fear'd will never be. When I diſcourſed them upon it, they gave me ſuch an anſwer as made me hold my tongue for ſhame. "You would (ſay they) have us become "Chriſtians? well, to what end and purpoſe? "Is it to make us better than really we are, "or is it not rather to make us as wicked "and vicious as your ſelves, to render us "Adulterers, Whore-maſters, Lyars, Murtherers, Robbers, without faith, honor, or "honeſty, minding nothing but how to deceive one another, and to deſtroy you up"on pretence of Juſtice? Is this a party to "chooſe, and to oblige us to renounce the "ſimplicity of our manner of life, and the "ſweet tranquillity of mind we now en"joy?" When I attempted to repreſent to them, that 'twas not our Religion that made us ſuch as they painted us; ſince it taught us to lead better lives: they reply'd, "that all the Indians that became "Chriſtians, were fallen into the ſame vices "and irregularities, that are practic'd amongſt "us; and that therefore they would not "run the hazzard of it.

To * * *.

Dear Sir,

HAVING waited a fortnight after the publication of my Book, and no Anſwer coming out in that time (as I ſee not what can be reply'd to ſuch plain facts, beſides railing, which will never paſs for reaſon) I thought my ſelf bound to attend no longer, and ſo came down hither at the earneſt requeſt of a Gentleman, to whom I owe very many obligations. In one word he's neither King-ridden nor Prieſt-ridden. I ſhall not however during my ſmall ſtay, waſte time in merely ſeeing the country, or indulging the pleaſures it affords: but on the contrary, I ſpend an hour or two every morning on a Piece that will make a much greater noiſe, and raiſe a far nobler ſpirit than *Dunkirk or Dover*. I am perſuaded it will be reckon'd a very acceptable ſervice by all true lovers of their Country.

But ’tis very hard on the other hand, that while I thus incur the odium of the French Party in power, I ſhould be neglected by thoſe whoſe Engliſh principles, and I may alſo ſay whoſe private intereſts, I ſo heartily promote. I do all this, its true, from the unalterable love I bear to Liberty; but while they find their account in it, methinks, they ſhould not be the leſs thankful. I hope at leaſt they will now ſee, how unjuſt their Suſpicions were, that I had ſtill a ſecret underſtanding with my Lord * * * whoſe Spy they us’d approbriouſly to ſtile me; tho’ I expoſtulated with him more, and ſpoke more plain truths to him, concerning the deſtructive meaſures I ſaw he was taking, than any one of them has done. I neither deſire nor expect my word ſhould be taken for this: for I have authentick Proofs of it in the copies of ſeveral Writings or *Memorials* on that ſubject, to every one of which, the perſon who entertains me here is a witneſs, as having been privy to the ſame; and in particular to the laſt Letter I wrote his Lordſhip about two years ago, wherein upon certain (as he thought) ambiguous words he let drop about the Houſe of Hanover, I utterly renounc’d his friendſhip, and conſequently all the advantages one in my circumſtances might hope from his Protection. Since that time I never ſpoke nor wrote to him more: and thus while I behav’d my ſelf as if I had the moſt plentiful fortune to ſupport me againſt his reſentments, yet am I ſhamefully abandon'd as if I were his Creature in the worſt ſenſe.

I ſhould not have taken the liberty, SIR, to be ſo particular with you, if I were not thoroughly convinc'd that you are not onely upon the firmeſt Principles engag'd in the nobleſt cauſe in the world; but likewiſe becauſe I found you always inclin'd both to juſtify and favour me, as knowing well that I neither was, nor cou'd be any thing but a Whig. Indeed a perſon who has ſo nice a taſte of polite Literature himſelf, cannot but patronize a lover of Letters in a lower degree than I am: and hence therefore it is, that I throw my ſelf on your generous care, not doubting but you'll take ſome pains to ſet me right with thoſe who know me not ſo well, and ſo diſpoſe 'em to put me in a condition of writing as freely as I think. Being reſolv'd to ſet out for London next monday, there's no need of honouring me with an Anſwer, and in the mean time, I am, with the profoundeſt reſpect and ſincerity.

SIR,

Your, &c.

TO

TO

Mr. * * *.

London Jan. 22. 1713-14.

Dear Sir,

THE Book I do my ſelf the honor to ſend you by next munday's carrier will ſufficiently inform you, how I have been ſpending my time for ſome weeks paſt at Epſom; and the diſtance of that place from London, as well as my continual attention to a thread of ancient and modern facts, will excuſe the interruption of Correſpondence. Yet the loſs to me has been in ſome meaſure made up by the aſſurance I receiv'd from time to time of both your healths and kind remembrance.

I flatter my ſelf that in the foreſaid Book you'll meet with more novelties, than in the ordinary courſe of poſtage I cou'd have ſent in that time; and I am ſorry on the other hand, that you are too ſure to find in it many things that will be no news to you. Diſcourſing of Liberty, nay, aſſertaining and maintaining it, I cou'd not but act with the greateſt freedom, and indeed it wou'd not only be improper, but, in my opinion, ineffectual

effectual to do otherwiſe: ſince the principal art of perſuaſion is to appear perſuaded your ſelf; and, to tell you the truth without diſguize, it is impoſſible for a ſoul that's really fir'd with the love of his Country, not to expreſs in the moſt pathetic terms a deteſtation for Tyranny, a contempt for Slaves, an averſion to Traytors, and reſentment of injur'd Truſt. But all this while I have not acted without caution likewiſe, expecting little aſſiſtance from many of thoſe that will be the loudeſt to applaud me: and therefore, the coming out of the Book being fixt to next Tueſday, I have provided my ſelf with a privacy where I fancy I may be ſafe enough till the firſt fury be overpaſt, if they think it adviſeable to make any proſecution. Clipſton is too far off, or it were the ſecureſt place in the world.

But leaving the event to time, you are to underſtand, that, without any regard to theſe things, I am in about three weeks time bound for Germany; tho' firſt for Flanders, and next for Holland. I believe I ſhall be pretty well accomodated for this Voyage, which upon many accounts I expect will be very ſhort. Lord! how near was my old Woman being a Queen! and your humble ſervant being at his eaſe! All is not over yet, and ſome ſymptoms are promiſing enough. I have been the bolder upon this preſumption, nor am I alone, ſince all the Princes in Europe take their meaſures on the ſame foot.

You'll receive Mr. STEELE's *Criſis* by the ſame carrier that delivers you my *Art of Reſtoring*. I think it a very good Book, but it does not anſwer the expectation of many others, who are good friends to him and the Cauſe.

Our naval armament goes on very ſlowly: and whether deſign'd to reduce Barcelona, Copenhagen, or London, either of theſe, or all three in conjunction with the French, is yet a ſecret to the body of our People, but none to me, as per next I ſhall irreſiſtibly convince you.

I am, SIR,

your *&c.*

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Pau 23 *July* 1714. N. S.

Dear SIR,

IT is about five weeks ſince I came to this place, but was not ſettled till very lately in a houſe fit for my purpoſe, with Stable, Coach-houſe and Garden. The Town is but ſmall, and full of Perſons of Quality, which makes good houſes ſo ſcarce, that I thought

I ſhould have been forc'd to go ſomewhere elſe. I have taken one for a year at leaſt, and think I ſhall ſtay longer, finding the place very pleaſant and very healthy, as far as I am yet able to judge. The City is ſurrounded with very fine walks, either for coach, horſe, or foot, and the Country much the moſt fruitful of any part of France, thro' which I paſs'd. The people of condition are extremely civil, by whom we have been viſited univerſally, with promiſes of much friendſhip and ſervice. I have been viſited but once with the Gout ſince I left England, with a very moderate fit ſince I left Paris, which is more than has happen'd to me for ſeveral years paſt. It might poſſibly have been ſo, if I had ſtay'd in England, but I had rather impute it to the exercise of my journey, and the warmth and goodneſs of the air. I go out ſometimes on horſe-back, but for the moſt part in the coach, where I ſeldom fail of meeting twenty or thirty more belonging to this little Town. We got hither by eaſy journies without meeting any misfortune; and, tho' we paſs'd a great deal of bad way, my horſes perform'd ſo well, as to loſe no fleſh when they came hither, and are as good and freſh as at firſt.

The Country we paſs'd thro' is ſufficiently miſerable, wanting almoſt all neceſſaries for a comfortable ſubſiſtence; the peaſants ſcarcely may be ſaid to live, and thoſe they call Gentlemen are proportionably in a worſe condition. The fields are very much deſerted, whole towns abandon'd, and the houſes fallen down as if they had been viſited with an earthquake; ſervants for manufactures are much wanting, and thoſe that remain are very idle and avoiding labour, which together with the diminution of money, and the late univerſal plague amongſt their ſheep and cattel, makes their wool ſcarce, and their manufacturing dear. And yet they reckon'd this a bleſſed condition in compariſon of what they felt in the time of war, and look upon the peace as no leſs than a reſtoration of their beings, which were reduc'd to their laſt gaſp. It muſt needs be a long while before the country can recover the damage and deſolation caus'd by the war, and in all likelyhood they will never be able to do it: and if the Bill of Commerce paſſes, I do not ſee how any Province will get by it, except ſuch who deal in wines and brandies.

Every body here talks very confidently of an Invaſion of England with a conſiderable force, but deny that their King is any way concern'd in it, diſguiſing all under the Emperor's name: many ſtick not to affirm openly, that the Queen is expected ſhortly in France, and preparations are making for her reception. No doubt if ſhe quits her Kingdom upon any account, ſhe will find a welcome here.

The ſtate of Learning in this Kingdom is very low, and ignorance and barbarity creeps inſenſibly upon the people of all conditions: the Prieſthood being eas'd of their ſtudies and pains in confuting adverſaries, will be ſure to take care to keep the lay people as ignorant as they can. And we may expect if things continue in the preſent ſtate, to ſee this nation over-run with witchcrafts and apparitions, miracles, and all the barbarities of the 12th and 13th Centuries.

I am,
Dear SIR,
Your moſt affectionate humble ſervant,

T. RAULINS.

TO

Mr. THORESBY.

London Sep. 29, 1715.

SIR,

MR. DES MAIZEAUX, the Gentleman who publiſh'd Monſieur BAYLE's *Letters*, and who has oblig'd the learn'd world with ſeveral of his own Productions, was ſo taken with your *Ducatus Leodienſis*, (as all perſons of curioſity and judgment muſt neceſſarily be) that he ſent an account of it to a foreign Journaliſt, with whom he keeps a correſpondence. After having mention'd your Book, he adds, in relation to your ſelf (1):

" M. THORESBY avoit été élevé pour le " commerce, & il y faiſoit de fort bonnes " affaires; mais la paſſion violente qu'il " avoit pour toute ſorte de Curioſitez & de " Raretez lui fit abandonner cette profeſſion pour ſuivre ſon inclination naturelle. " Le Catalogue des Raretez de ſon Cabinet " n'eſt pas moins curieux qu'inſtructif: il ſeroit à ſouhaiter que tous ceux qui poſſedent " de ſemblables treſors vouluſſent imiter " Mr. THORESBY.

Of this I knew nothing till I ſaw the Journal, and then Mr. DES MAIZEAUX own'd he had tranſmitted that Paragraph, which will make the Book enquir'd after beyond the ſeas. In effect, a famous Bookſeller in Holland, has upon this notice ſent for ſome copies.

I thought my ſelf ſo much intereſted in what concerns the fame of an honeſt man, tho' not long happy in his acquaintance, that I cou'd not refrain ſending you this account. The juſtice done in it to your merit, ought to be imitated by all thoſe of your Countrymen, who do not envy you, for there are no parties in the Republic of Letters: and

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(1) Nouvelles Litteraires du Samedi 28 Septembre 1715.

if

if foreigners are ſo highly pleas'd with peruſing your Antiquities of a place they never ſaw; I think the Town of Leeds, which you have not only rendred illuſtrious, but even immortal, ſhou'd after their example (of which I cou'd give many inſtances) in gratitude erect your Statue, accompany'd with a moſt honorable Inſcription.

You may remember, SIR, that Mr. DES MAIZEAUX inſerted his name in your *Album* the day I took leave of you. He forgets not his promiſe of furniſhing you with ſome hands. I ſhall likewiſe add others, to thoſe you have already been pleas'd to accept. In the mean time, I beg the favour of you to lend or procure me an account of ſuch Traditions, concerning the *Druids*, as may poſſibly obtain in your northern parts: what Monuments are aſcrib'd to them there, or that are likely to be theirs, tho' vulgarly taken otherwiſe: and what places (if any) are evidently, or conjecturally, call'd after them. Such an account, in whole or in part, will lay a ſingular obligation upon,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful
obedient ſervant.

Mr. THORESBY's

ANSWER.

Leeds Octob. 12, 1715.

Sir,

I Take the opportunity of the very firſt poſt to acknowledge the favour of your moſt obliging Letter, with the incloſ'd Paragraph out of the *Nouvelles Litteraires*, wherein I perceive that Mr. Des Maizeaux has done me the honor to mention the *Ducatus Leodienſis*. My humble ſervice and thanks to that learned Author: but his and your candor hath, I fear, been too extenſive as to any thing of my performance, who being bred a Merchant, want the advantage of an Academic Education; but *la paſſion violente* he juſtly obſerves in me, did me in that reſpect a kindneſs, and made me give over in time before the gentleman in Holland I was in partnerſhip with, run himſelf aground.

I am ſorry I cannot more effectually anſwer your requeſt as to the *Druids*, we not having any traditions, *&c.* relating to them in theſe parts. They ſeem to me to have retired with the Britains to Wales: whatever I have been able to procure relating to them,

(mention'd p. 493.) being procured from thence. Only I have often thought that *Bardſay* near Wetherby in theſe parts receiv'd its name from the Bards their contemporaries; 'tis even yet a private retired place near the foreſt, proper for contemplation.

I am particularly pleaſed with one expreſſion in yours, that *there are no parties in the Republic of Letters*, for I am (as you kindly obſerve) an *honeſt man*, (let me add ſimple and plain hearted) and can converſe with great eaſe and ſatisfaction with both high and low, (tho' I cou'd wiſh all diſtinctions were laid aſide) and have correſpondents of both denominations. But you will pardon me for wiſhing that a Gentleman of ſo much humanity, learning, and curioſity, was, in one point, more of the ſentiments of the Catholick Church. Pardon, SIR, this ſingle expreſſion as proceeding from the affectionate deſires of a ſimple recluſe in his country cell, where he prays for peace and truth, and the welfare of all mankind. I ſhall not for the future diſturb you with any thing of this kind, but moſt readily ſerve you in any thing that lies in the power of,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant

RALPH THORESBY.

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Bruſſels July 31, 1716.

SIR,

I Will not now make any excuſe for troubling you with an account of what I ſhall ſee abroad, ſince it is only in obedience to your commands that I do it.

I ſet ſail from Dover to Calais about twelve of the Clock on the the 12th of July O. S. and arriv'd there five hours after, which was the 23d N. S. (which you know is uſed almoſt all over Europe). As ſoon as I landed, the Soldiers of the Garriſon told me I muſt go before the Governor, and the *Intendant de la Marine*, before I could go to the Inn, which I accordingly did; there I was ask'd my name, who I was, what I came there for, and how long I intended to ſtay, and as ſoon as I had anſwer'd their queſtions they told me I might go.

Calais is but a ſmall town, much about the bigneſs of Dover, but more compact; the harbour is well fortify'd, but that part of the fortifications which is towards the land, is old and out of order. You are not ignorant that this Town belong'd formerly to the Engliſh, and it's the moſt part built by them, for the three principal Churches, and almoſt every thing that is ancient, had its origin from our fore-fathers. Here is a Garriſon of a thouſand men.

On the 25th I went for Dunkirk, which is eight leagues from Calais, I din'd in the way at Graveline, where there is a Garriſon of fifteen hundred men. This town lies upon the coaſt, and I was told the French King had once a deſign to make this a ſea-port, but Dunkirk was afterwards thought more convenient: it's juſt four leagues from Calais and three leagues from Mardyke, which laſt place is but one from Dunkirk. When I came by Mardyke I got out of the coach to go and view the Canal, which is a prodigious work and very large, for it's wide and deep enough to receive a firſt rate man of war, and capable now of containing even beyond the ſluice two hundred or two hundred and fifty ſhips; ſo that it may in time (that is whenever our enemies think there is occaſion) be as prejudicial to us as Dunkirk, or perhaps more, ſince it's ſo much nearer the ſtreights of Dover and Calais, as it's remov'd from Dunkirk, which laſt place, I think one of the prettieſt towns I ever yet ſaw. Though there is nothing very magnificent, yet there is nothing looks mean or poor: it's built moſt of brick, which upon account of the colour reſembles very much our ſtone; the ſtreets are large and well pav'd, which gives a good air to the place. I went to view the baſon and fortifications, which though ruin'd, yet the remains give a man an idea of the vaſtneſs of the work, which I believe is the greateſt the laſt age has produc'd: there are two vaſt moles which ſeem to riſe like mountains a conſiderable diſtance in the ſea, upon which forts were built, and form'd the mouth of the harbour. Whether it's ſo far demoliſh'd as that we may have nothing to fear from it, is of little conſequence, ſince Mardyke will as well ſerve their turn.

On the 27th I left Dunkirk and travell'd on the ſand of the ſea almoſt to Newport, which is five leagues and a half: it's a ſmall but very clean town. This is the firſt place out of the dominions of France: here is a Garriſon of ſeven hundred men paid by the Emperor. From hence to Bruges is ſix leagues, which is a very large place and pretty well built, but prodigiouſly crowded with Monaſteries; and now upon the road one cannot travel in any common carriage but one is ſure of the company of two or three fat Prieſts. As I ſtaid but one night at Bruges, ſo I had little time to inform my ſelf of any thing remarkable here. From hence to Ghent is eight leagues, which I pravell'd by a boat drawn by horſes. Ghent is the capital of

Flanders, and is very large and well built, but the walls take up a much greater circumference than what the houſes fill up. I was here to ſee ſeveral of their Churches which were very fine, as indeed almoſt all the Churches in Flanders are. I was at a little Chappel, where they told me the Virgin MARY had cur'd a great many blind people, and the Pictures of them who had been cur'd were hung up in the Church; amongſt the cur'd they ſhew'd me one who they ſaid was an Engliſh Counteſs. But I could not learn her name. In the Town-houſe there are ſeveral very good Pictures containing the hiſtory of CHARLES the fifth, who you know was born here, and they ſhew the Chamber he was born in. On the 29th I left Ghent and came here: the road from Ghent to Bruſſels is all pav'd with ſtone, and it's ten leagues or thirty Engliſh mile long; here on each ſide the way is as fine a Country as ever I ſaw in my life, and I never ſaw more plentiful crops of corn, or a finer ſoil. I obſerv'd they did not mow the Barley as we do, but reap'd it with a Sicle and ſet the corn up in Sheaves as we do wheat: I could not but wonder to ſee them plowing the lands before the corn was got off of the ground, which we never do in England, but a conſiderable time after harveſt. I din'd at a place call'd Aloſt, juſt half way to Bruſſels: it's upon the road from Ghent that you have the beſt view of Bruſſels, which ſtands upon a hill that deſcends gradually. I ſhall ſay no more of Bruſſels now, but ſhall conclude, Sir, your moſt humble Servant.

TO

Mr. C * * *.

Putney, Jan. 26, 1718-19.

My Dear Friend,

THO' you well know my heart, yet I cannot forbear putting you to a penny charge, to receive my moſt ſincere acknowledgments for all your favours of all ſorts, for which you ſhall never want at leaſt the payment of gratitude.

As for the rich uncharitable company, in which, you tell me you were t'other day, I freely forgive them; looking upon men of their diſpoſition, as much more requiring pity than my ſelf. They are Lovers: and all ſuch, we know, have their judgments no leſs blinded, than their taſte vitiated. Money is the ſole object of their affection, and whatever is ſo to any man, in that he places his chiefeſt happineſs: ſo that 'tis natural for him not to conſent any way to its diminution, but to endeavour by all means poſſible the increaſe of it; and in this purſuit he'll conſequently perſevere, without reflecting on the uncertainty of the future, whether his treaſure will ever deſcend to thoſe for whom he deſtines it, or whether whoever enjoys it may not be both unthankful to him, and alſo in other reſpects unworthy of ſuch a poſſeſſion. I need not ſpeak of thoſe accidents in life, which are as common as unforeknown. But the man who can diſtinguiſh the uſe of mony from the abuſe of it, who makes it is his ſervant and not his miſtreſs, takes incomparably more pleaſure in what he contributes to make eaſy his friends in diſtreſs, to relieve the poor and the needy, or to promote undertakings of public benefit, than in what he ſaves and hoards over and above the rules of prudent foreſight. For I wou'd not be ſo underſtood, as if every man was not to look to the main chance, and to preſerve his eſtate clear and intire: whatever any body does inconſiſtent with this, is neither generoſity nor charity, but prodigality and profuſeneſs. A man of ſound underſtanding on whom Heaven has beſtow'd a liberal mind, will eaſily perceive where the medium lyes, what he can ſpare, and what he ought to lay up.

Dear HARRY, a lecture of this kind wou'd be receiv'd as an affront, by the muck-worms you had lately in your company, and by their brethren every where; as one, whoſe ſins happen to be touch'd in a Sermon, thinks the preacher did particularly aim at him, tho he was not at all in his thoughts: but to ſuch as your ſelf, that have done a thouſand generous, kind, and charitable offices, (which are far from being loſt, tho' the receivers may prove unthankful or otherwiſe undeſerving;) to ſuch, I ſay, this Doctrine ſounds agreeably, and is truly reliſh'd by them, being ever accompany'd with the inward ſatisfaction, that neceſſarily flows from all good actions.

I can tell you however for your comfort, as every thing rejoices in its like; that you are not the only rich man, who knows how to do handſom things: for, as I wrote to you not long ſince, that we muſt ever thankfully publiſh the beneficence of our friends; ſo, ſince the receipt of yours, Sir W * * * S * * * (to whom I neither wrote nor ſent and who only accidentally heard of my indiſpoſition) ſent a ſervant to ſee how I did, with a very affectionate Letter, and five Guineas inclos'd in it. The manner of doing this has made a deeper impreſſion upon me, than if another had preſented me with five hundred Guineas in a diſobliging way: as moſt certainly the circumſtances of giving are ſometimes no leſs diſobliging, than thoſe of denying.

After my ſervice to your brother and all friends, I mean ſuch as are truly ſo, were they even poorer than my ſelf, (for real friendſhip knows no diſparity of conditions; I am with all the faculties of my ſoul,

Honeſt Dear HARRY,

Your moſt oblig'd and moſt faithful Servant.

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Plymton, July 10, 1720.

SIR,

YOUR *Nazarenus* fell into my hands but very lately, which muſt be my apology, if I ſhould happen to anſwer the two Problems you have propos'd, a little of the lateſt.

The firſt Problem is thus:

" WHETHER, without having recourſe to " miracles, or to promiſes drawn from the " *Old Teſtament* (which is the ſame thing, if " you don't take thoſe promiſes for wiſe " foreſight) it can be demonſtrated by the " intrinſic conſtitution of the Government " or Religion of the Jews, how, after the " total ſubverſion of their State for almoſt " ſeventeen hundred years, and after the diſ- " perſion of their nation over the whole " habitable earth; being neither favour'd

" nor ſupported by any potentate, but rather " expos'd to the contempt and hatred of all " the world: they have nevertheleſs pre- " ſerv'd themſelves a diſtinct people with all " their ancient rites, excepting a very ſmall " number of ceremonies, they were neceſſa- " rily enjoin'd to practiſe within the bounds " of Judea, and which they are no longer " permitted to do? while that in the mean " time the Inſtitutions of the Egyptians, Ba- " bylonians, Greeks, and Romans (nations " that were much more powerful) are long " ago entirely aboliſh'd, and brought to no- " thing: and that the names only of certain " celebrated Religions ſubſiſt yet in Hiſtory; " without even ſo much as the names re- " maining of ſome other worſhips, that " doubtleſs were neither leſs believ'd, nor " leſs extended.

This Problem I find anſwer'd, as it ſeems to me, to ſatisfaction, in SPINOZA's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, towards the end of the third Chapter p. 61. of the octavo edition, printed 1674. Whoſe argument I ſhall only enforce by ſaying, that it ſeems pretty evident, when a man has once ſuffer'd any mark in his fleſh, which cannot be defac'd or repair'd, purely upon account of his Religion, he will not be inclin'd to be perſuaded out of it by any thing leſs than a demonſtration; or elſe ſome great temporal advantages.

And that the Jews are not altogether impregnable to fair uſage, notwithſtanding Circumciſion it ſelf, we have an inſtance in the above cited page.

The ſecond Problem, you expreſs in this manner:

" WHETHER a ſufficient reaſon can be aſ-
" ſign'd, drawn from the nature and frame of
" the Jewiſh Republic or Religion(without al-
" ledging miracles, or promiſes not account-
" ed miraculous, as aforeſaid) why, during
" the time that they were the independent
" Lords of their own country, and that their
" Government ſubſiſted in a flouriſhing con-
" dition; they were perpetually inclin'd
" to the moſt groſs Idolatries, always in ſuſ-
" penſe whether they ſhould follow BAAL or
" JEHOVAH, and having a ſtrong propenſity
" to mix or marry with the women of o-
" ther nations, contrary to their fundamen-
" tal Laws? whereas, ſince their actual diſ-
" perſion among theſe ſame nations, they
" are obſtinately careful to keep their race
" entire, without corruption or mixture:
" and that, notwithſtanding the moſt agree-
" able temptations or the moſt exquiſite tor-
" tures, they abhor beyond all expreſſion
" Idolatry of every kind; but particularly
" the adoration of dead men (from which
" they are evidently exempt) as they are ſur-
" prizingly

" prizingly uniform in their worſhip and " doctrine, which is not deny'd, by any body.

As to the firſt part of that Problem, this too is in a great meaſure anſwer'd by the ſame Author p. 293, and ſeveral of the following pages.

To which I add, that as the mind of man, eſpecially of the vulgar, ſeems of it ſelf to be prone enough to Idolatry, that is, to worſhip the Deity under ſenſible Images, and perhaps by degrees the Images themſelves, they might eaſily in the time of the Judges, ſlide into that Idolatry, partly thro' converſation with the idolatrous nations that were intermix'd, and a fondneſs of being like their neighbours, tho' enemies, who were probably more polite than themſelves; and partly thro' ignorance, which might be occaſion'd by want of copies of the Law; which ignorance I gueſs to be MICAH's caſe in the Appendix to the Book of Judges: for MICAH ſeems to be a perſon that meant well, Judges xvii. 13: and partly perhaps thro' lazineſs or an unwillingneſs to go up to worſhip at the proper place. Judges xviii. 31.

As for the Kings, the ſame Author ſhews that they had ſufficient reaſon not to be over fond of the Levites. If ſo, I add, that 'twas eaſy for the Kings to perſuade themſelves, there was no great matter in ceremonies, that God might be worſhip'd in one place as well as another, either with or without repreſentations: on the ſame principles as JEROBOAM did, thro' another motive. See JOSEPHUS p. 506 of L'ESTRANGE's oct. edit. and as eaſy to perſuade the people thro' the ſcarcity of copies of the Law. Which Law was found in JOSIAH's time after it had been long loſt.

As to the ſecond part of the ſecond Problem; I anſwer: 1. All that are in a ſtate of perſecution, are induſtrious to fortify themſelves and their children in the principles of their Religion, and more careful than at other times, in the practice of it.

2. Add to this, that if any one trangreſſes amongſt his own brotherhood in a foreign country, he has neither numbers nor great men to keep him in countenance, as he might have had perhaps upon many occaſions in his own country. They are already ſhun'd by ſtrangers, to be ſhun'd too by their own fraternity would be abſolutely intolerable.

The foundation of the whole ſeems to be Circumciſion: without Circumciſion probably they would not have continued a diſtinct people, nor without being a diſtinct people, been ſo obnoxious to the hatred and contempt of others, nor conſequently have had that temptation, or rather that provocation to adhere ſo ſtrictly to their ancient rites.

An anſwer to this will be a very great favour to

SIR,

Your admirer and unknown humble Servant.

S*** R***

TO

Mr. * * *.

SIR,

THO' the laſt *Independent Whig* (1) be an incomparable Paper; yet, as it ſometimes happens to the moſt accurate compoſitions, there is a ſlip of memory at the concluſion of it.

The *Tribe of* LEVI had not an equal *ſhare* of Land with the others, nor an equal *right*; but only certain Cities with their ſuburbs, ſcatter'd throughout all the Tribes, for their more convenient attendance every where. Yet the Tribes, with reſpect to their poſſeſſions,

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(1) Numb. ix. Wedneſday, March 16, 1720.

ſions, were ſtill in number twelve; that of JOSEPH, having been divided into two, namely, thoſe of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH. The Tythes and Offerings were given the Tribe of LEVI, inſtead of their ſhare of the Land. *The Lord ſpoke unto Aaron* (Numb. xviii. 20.) *thou ſhalt have no inheritance in their Land, neither ſhalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part, and thine inheritance, among the children of Iſrael.* This is often repeated and inculcated elſewhere. Yet, for all this, the Tribe of LEVI was far from being in a worſe condition than their brethren. There was, on the contrary, much better proviſion made for them than the reſt, and with little or no labor to themſelves.

1. Thus, all the ſin-offerings of all kinds were theirs, except ſuch as were made in their own name or that of the whole Congregation, with thoſe particular portions, which were to be conſum'd by fire. See the entire 4th and 6th Chapters of Leviticus.

2. They had the like right to the treſpaſs-offerings, with the like exceptions, as may be ſeen, Levit. vii. and elſewhere.

3. The ſame is as true of the peace-offerings, which were many and of various kinds, Levit. xxiii. *& alibi.*

4. Theirs was the oil, that was offer'd by perſons infected with the Leproſy, Levit. xiv. 12, 13.

5. Alſo what remain'd of the ſheaves of the firſt-fruits, whereof Levit. xxiii. 10.

6. The two wave-loaves, with the good things accompanying them, Levit. xxiii. 17.

7. The twelve huge loaves of ſhew-bread, renew'd every week, Levit. xxiv 9.

8. The remainder of the meat-offerings, Levit. vi. 16.

9. The skins of all ſacrific'd beaſts (no ſmall income) except ſuch as were wholly conſum'd with fire, Levit. vii. 8.

10. The breaſt and right ſhoulder of all the peace-offerings, and the heave-offerings, Levit. vi. 30, &c.

11. The cakes and the loaves, offer'd with the ſacrifices of thankſgiving, Levit. vii. 12, &c.

12. The like things accompanying the ram, offer'd by the Nazarites, Numb. vi. 17—20.

13. The firſt-born of all clean beaſts, that is of all beaſts good for any thing, without redemption, Numb. xviii. 15.

14. The firſt-fruits of all manner of grain and fruits, Numb. xviii. 13.

15. All the beſt of the oil, and all the beſt of the wine, &c. in firſt-fruits, Numb. xviii. 12.

16. The tythe of the tythes, paid by the Levites to the Prieſts, Numb. xviii. 28.

17. A cake of the firſt dough from every family, Numb. xv. 20.

18. The firſt-fruits of wool, from every one that had ſheep, Deut. xviii. 4.

19. All devoted things living or dead, particularly fields or farms not redeem'd before the year of Jubilee, Lev. xxvii. 16, 20, 28, &c.

20. Every treſpaſs, that had none to claim it, Numb. v. 8.

21. The ſhoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw of all beaſts kill'd for daily uſe, Deut. xviii. 3.

22. The mony given for the redemption of the firſt-born of men, Numb. xviii. 15.

23. The like for the redemption of the firſt-born of unclean beaſts, Num. xviii. 15, 16.

24. The tythes of every kind, which alone were an immenſe Revenue, *Paſſim.*

25. The forty eight Cities with their ſuburbs or liberties, Numb. xxxv. 2, &c.

Now, if the particulars of theſe and ſuch other heads be conſider'd, as ſeveral ſums of mony from all maſters of families, a general poll-tax, bullocks, heifers, rams, lambs, ewes, goats, kids, doves, ſpices, oil, wine, corn, fruits, wool, skins, ſtuffs, flower, loaves, cakes, firſtlings, wood for the Altar, and diverſe other ſpecies too tedious to enumerate (beſides that mony was to be given in exchange for many of them) the revenues of the Prieſts might be truly call'd Royal; and, in effect, by virtue of theſe, they ſeiz'd on the Royalty it ſelf at laſt. But ſeveral unanſwerable reaſons may be given, why no ſet of men among Chriſtians, can derive the leaſt claim from the Prieſts and Levites, who were peculiarly adapted to the Jewiſh Theocracy; and were the Miniſters of JEHOVAH the King of Iſrael, attending in his Palace, &c: whereas there was no manner of Prieſthood inſtituted by JESUS CHRIST or his Apoſtles, the Elders, whereof we read in the New Teſtament, having been all Lay-men; and either the proper Magiſtrates of the Jewiſh corporations and communities, or ſuch others ſet up by the firſt Chriſtians in imitation of theſe, for the management of their own private affairs. Nothing in the world can be more eaſily prov'd than this. Prieſt, Altar, Sacrifice, &c, are as contrary to original Chriſtianity, as Idolatry, Immolation, Augury, &c. Wherefore, the writer of *the Independent Whig* did very well, in calling the Chriſtian Clergy, the pretended ſucceſſors of the Jewiſh Prieſts: but it was a miſtake to ſay, that the Tribe of LEVI had a right to the twelfth part of the lands, and that the incomes of the Prieſts were moderate. However, he's ſafe enough in the ignorance of his adverſaries. I am with grateful reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful obedient Servant.

TO

The Right Honourable

THE LORD SOUTHWELL.

London April 27, 1720.

My Lord,

IF I am guilty of any fault in not doing my ſelf the honor to write to you before now, my Lord Molesworth muſt anſwer for it, who told me you waited for the coming of a yacht from Ireland: and I was of opinion my ſelf, that a Letter directed to Mr. Smith at the Cuſtom-houſe, before your Lordſhip's certain arrival, might occaſion ſome miſtake, which is eaſier prevented than excus'd. But this apprehenſion being now remov'd by advices from Cheſter, I gladly make uſe of the liberty you were pleaſed to allow me of writing to you, as I ſhall regularly continue to do, till I underſtand from your Lordſhip that you are weary of the correſpondence.

Before all things I earneſtly intreat you to accept of my ſincereſt thanks (the only return my gratitude enables me to make) for the happineſs of your acquaintance; which as well on account of the honor it reflects on me, as the real improvement I have receiv'd by it, I ſhall ever infinitely value. I thank you eſpecially for making me known to ſo many of our Countrymen, to whom I was a greater ſtranger before, than to moſt Nations of Europe. Tho' I dare not ſay, that Philoſophy has eradicated all prejudices in favour of my native ſoil, nor that indeed it ought to produce this effect (ſince one may be no leſs a citizen of the world, than of any particular place, by embelliſhing one quarter, and delighting in it, more than another) yet I can faithfully aſſure your Lordſhip, that in the ſmall efforts whereby I have endeavored to ſerve Ireland, I was acted rather by thoſe principles which teach me what is due to all mankind, than by any byaſs to that Kingdom, in which I have ſpent ſo little of my time. Thoſe eternal notions of Liberty and Slavery, I imbib'd with the firſt milk I ſuck'd from the Muſes; thoſe notions, I ſay, which were fortify'd in me by the converſation and writings of the ableſt men in England, and which were abſolutely perfected by the ſame means in Holland, as they ſhall direct my actions during the whole courſe of my life: ſo I neither know by the impulſes of nature, nor was taught by the precepts of my maſters, to reſtrain the bleſſings of them to any time or place; much leſs to make Ireland a ſingle exception, and ſtill by a greater abſurdity to make acqueſt to be a conqueſt, or that the conquerors ſhou'd be as ill treated, if not worſe, than the conquer'd. Wherefore you may depend upon it, that I ſhall loſe no time, nor ſpare any pains to go on with the Work, which your Lordſhip's deſires and my own inclinations have encouraged me to undertake. Materials flow in on me as faſt as I can wiſh: but on this ſubject I ſhall have the honour to entertain you more particularly in my next.

I heartily congratulate you on the no leſs ſurprizing than agreeable revolution, that has happen'd here ſince your departure: but as well for your ſake as my own, I do not think it proper to enter on the particulars either of the motives or the means, the preſent effects or the conjectural conſequences of this happy Reconciliation of the Royal Family, till I am certain that my Letters come ſafe to your hands. The ſame reaſon muſt hold as to all other news, public or private; and I hope you'll think it none, that, with the juſteſt ſentiments of obligation and reſpect, I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt faithful obedient ſervant.

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Breckdenſton near Dublin
June the 25th, 1720.

SIR,

I Shou'd be glad that any thing my Lord CASTLETON met with in my Lord SHAFTSBURY's *Letters* to me wou'd encourage him to try for heirs to his honours and eſtate. I think he owes ſo much to his family and country. I was always of your opinion that thoſe Letters were very valuable for the reaſons you give, and had it in my thoughts that it wou'd be a good thing to publiſh them. But upon farther conſideration that my Lord SHAFTSBURY's relations might take it amiſs that I divulge family ſecrets, and that it wou'd be conſtrued a piece of vanity (now much in uſe) for me to print my own commendations, (as you know there are ſuch in ſeveral of thoſe Letters,) I concluded it better to have ſuch publication deferr'd till after my death. If you have any good reaſons to think otherwiſe let me know them. You may, if you think fitting, communicate them to Mr. COLLINS, and take his opinion of them, and what is beſt to be done with them. I own I am proud enough of having been not only ſo intimate with that great man, but to have had a hand in the firſt forming of his mind to virtue. There are other great Miniſters now living for whom I endeavoured as much, but as they have forgot it, ſo will I. The Lord SHAFTSBURY was of a different temper, and carried on his friendſhip to my ſons, the eldeſt of which did him ſignal ſervice in Italy, where (at Naples) he died.

I will conſult friends here before I determine any thing touching the reprinting the Iriſh Pamphlet which I ſent you: and if they think it proper I will ſend you word. You may believe it to be S***'s; for he was here with me to get me to uſe my intereſt that no hardſhip ſhou'd be put upon the Printer, and did in a manner own it. I believe it was writ in haſte, for perſons do not always write alike.

I am glad to hear your Book is likely to ſwell to the bulk you ſpeak of. In Sir JOHN DAVY's Hiſtory of Ireland, how it came to paſs that it was not thoroughly ſubdued till King JAMES the firſt's time (whoſe Attorney General here he was) you will plainly find that the Parliaments of England never intermedled in the leaſt with the affairs of Ireland from the firſt conqueſt to the time he wrote. I have that Book here, and if you find it difficult for you to meet with it there, I will contrive ſome way to ſend you mine.

In anſwer to the offer about ſerving me in any of the Subſcriptions now on foot; I ſhou'd be glad enough to make one among them, and get a little money, (which I need to pay off ſome debts) in any honeſt Project. The time, I ſuppoſe, is over in the South-Sea Company. Sir T * * * J * * * whoſe judgment and honeſty is to be relied on, is beſt to be adviſed with in this, and you may do it if you pleaſe in my behalf. I have good credit, having never yet, I thank my ſtars, forfeited it in any one inſtance, and ſhall be beholding to your good friend Sir T * * * (for ſo he has ſignally ſhewn himſelf to my very great pleaſure and ſatisfaction) if he can put me into a like method.

And as to the Harburg Project, I do not underſtand what it is; but if I cou'd do it and become one of the undertakers, without great risk (or ſubſcribers), you may ſpeak to Sir A * * * of it. I am deſirous of having my ſmall oar in the public boat, and not too obſtinately to refuſe profit. Since the Nation is a ſharing, I have conteſted long enough, and may now without imputation come in for my part of it; tho' I believe I am too late for any ſignal gain. However, this matter I refer to my friends, being only ſure of one thing, that I have endeavour'd to deſerve well both from Britain and Ireland. Adieu.

I am,

Your moſt faithful

friend and ſervant

MOLESWORTH.

TO

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

London, June 25, 1720.

My Lord,

THE laſt I had the honor to write to you was from the South-Sea houſe, where I never was before that time. Sir T*** has generouſly kept his word with me, adding a further promiſe, that on the next ſuch occaſion, about three months hence, he'll procure me the liberty of another Subſcription, any body elſe laying down the money, and on that ſcore going halves for the profit, than which there is nothing more common. I wiſh in the next you'll do me the favour to write to me, you wou'd pleaſe to mention him in a manner that may ſhew his kindneſs to me has oblig'd your Lordſhip, as ſeveral of my other friends have already thank'd him.

This will come the more naturally from your hands, not only as you are generally known to be my trueſt Patron, but likewiſe as your very name (ever auſpicious to Liberty) has been made uſe of to ſecure this Subſcription to me: for the very day before, the Directors, by reaſon of the multitude that offer'd to ſubſcribe, made a private order that no one perſon ſhou'd be in two Liſts, and that none except a Parliament-man ſhou'd ſubſcribe for a thouſand pounds. Upon this, Sir T*** put in your name for mine, as being ſure you wou'd not take it ill, ſince there was no time for asking your leave; and that moſt of the Lords and Commons, who had voted againſt them, did ſubſcribe, without being ſuppoſed by ſo doing to have in the leaſt alter'd their judgment. In a word, there was no way of ſecuring my Subſcription but by a Parliament-man's name, and I my ſelf wou'd not be ſhelter'd by any name but yours, had he conſulted me, for which he had not time.

I was offer'd a thouſand pounds advantage three hours after the thing was done, and thirteen hundred this very day: but my benefactor aſſures me that at the opening of the Books it will be worth a great deal more. You may eaſily gueſs I will be govern'd by him in this point. Another ſuch job will make me as eaſy and independent as I deſire, without ever Stockjobbing more: ſince I may buy an annuity of two or three hundred pounds, tho' the purchaſe of land is got up to thirty years, and, if things go on at this rate, will mount much higher.

All things are in the utmoſt tranquillity. Private news I have none, and the public are only ſuch as the papers contain.

I am, &c.

TO

Sir T*** J***.

SIR,

WHENEVER any man profeſt himſelf my friend, or at any time did or deſign'd me a favour, I was always gratefully inclin'd to do him what ſervice lay in my power, unleſs he became an enemy to the Liberty of our Country, in which caſe I hold all ties to be diſſolv'd, and all obligations cancell'd. As I have known you for many years, not only under as fair a character as any Merchant in London, but likewiſe a moſt zealous friend to the Britiſh Conſtitution: ſo I cou'd not be unconcern'd to ſee you involv'd of late in the ſame difficulties with the reſt of the South-Sea Directors, whom I cannot perſuade my ſelf to be all equally guilty. You in particular have frequently expreſt to me your diſlike of ſeveral meaſures, when the whole town madly applauded them. You condemn'd the too great power that was lodg'd in a few hands, and the arbitrary uſe they made of it; acting as it were by inſpiration (theſe are your own words) and publiſhing their Reſolutions but a very ſmall time before they were to be put in execution.

I am not acquainted enough with the nature of mercantile Companies, to account why ſuch as diſapprove the conduct of their fellow Directors, do not enter their Proteſts, or ſignify their diſallowance in ſome publick manner, ſo as to be matter of record. But obſerving your uneaſineſs at almoſt every thing from a little before the third Subſcription, I have been urgent with you, ever ſince the Parliament took this affair in hand, to clear your ſelf with the ſooneſt, as believing you rather imprudent than criminal: for I ſhall never think ill of any one, of whom I once thought well, till matters of fact make it impoſſible for me to think otherwiſe. I have ſollicited you to be ſpeedy and frank in confeſſing all you knew, (to which I found you well diſpoſed) as the moſt certain way to ſhew a man's innocence, if he be really excuſable: and having the honor to wait ſometimes on the right honourable the Lord Viſcount Molesworth (whoſe ſole view I am confident is doing juſtice to the Public, without the leaſt prejudice againſt any particular perſon) I propos'd to you to wait upon him, and to be as candid as his integrity and your caſe requir'd. You readily agreed, provided his Lordſhip wou'd admit of it: and upon my reporting this to him, he did not think it adviſeable to ſee you without ſome more of the Committee were preſent.

This, as far I can remember, was on Wedneſday the 18th of January; and accordingly you met ſome of the Committee at his Lordſhip's lodgings the next day. To what paſt there I am an utter ſtranger, for I cou'd not be ſo impertinent as to ask his Lordſhip, what I was ſure before hand he wou'd never tell me. All the diſcourſe I had with your ſelf that day was about your Treaſurer, whoſe flight you much lamented, becauſe he cou'd clear and prove what was in no other mortal's power, and that there wou'd be the utmoſt intricacy and confuſion without him. You added, that you little thought of Mr. KNIGHT's intention to withdraw himſelf, when that very Saturday on which he fled, you were earneſtly exhorting him (in conjunction, I think, with Sir ROBERT CHAPLIN) to give the Committee a full account of every thing; and that hereupon he ſaid, *I know the other Directors will lay all upon you of the Committee of the Treaſury, and that you'll charge me of courſe: but if it comes to that, and that I muſt be oblig'd to ſay all I know, I ſhall diſcover ſuch things as will amaze the world*, or words to this effect. This declaration, you ſaid, had taken from you all ſuſpicion of his deſigning an eſcape, and this is the ſubſtance of what I remember; and I repeat theſe things now, to the end that if ever my name ſhou'd be mention'd on occaſion of the ſervice I heartily deſign'd you, whether effectual or not, you may be ſatisfy'd that I acted in all things according to the tenor of this Letter.

I wiſh you a happy iſſue out of all your troubles, and am, with the greateſt ſincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful
obedient ſervant.

A Letter written in the name of a Member of the Houſe of Commons to another Member.

SIR,

I AM very ſorry I ſhou'd be oblig'd to go into the country at this juncture, when the public credit, and a conſiderable ſhare of my private property, lie at ſtake. But domeſtic affairs indiſpenſably require my abſence for near a month. I am not, however in any pain about the iſſue, ſince moſt of the Members of our Houſe are ſo deeply intereſted themſelves, over and above their duty to the State, without whoſe flouriſhing condition, we muſt needs all be miſerable. My opinion concerning the Directors of the South-Sea Company, I'll give as frankly as you deſire it, and the rather, becauſe your worthy relation, of whoſe honour and ability I am equally convinc'd, is choſen one of the Committee to enquire into their conduct. Neither my gains nor loſſes by the South-Sea are ſo extraordinary, as to render me too ſevere or indulgent. But as my concerns requir'd, and my education enabl'd me to examine into this affair with the utmoſt application, both in juſtice to my ſelf and my friends; ſo I have taken all proper methods to gain the trueſt information. Among other things, I have carefully read over the ſeveral Accounts and Papers which have been laid by the Directors before the Houſe of Commons, and made the ſtricteſt enquiry, that I cou'd poſſibly, into the behaviour of thoſe Gentlemen, eſpecially with relation to the ſeveral ſteps they took in the execution of the Scheme which was intruſted to their management. The reſult I ſhall briefly and impartially now lay before you.

In the firſt place, it appears to me (and I believe will be ſo found upon examination) that the Scheme was form'd, and carry'd on without being communicated to the Court of Directors, or even mention'd to them, till after it was open'd to the Houſe of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. About three millions of money were in this manner offer'd by the undertakers without their knowledge or conſent; which you'll own to be a pretty aſſuming way of proceeding, but perfectly of a piece with their ſubſequent management. In the ſequel of this negotiation, the Bank intervening, and offering to take the Scheme, it was by ſome people judg'd proper, in order to defeat the propoſal of the Bank, to have a power lodg'd in the Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor to offer whatever they ſhould think fit: a power perhaps the greateſt that ever was truſted to any two men, and for the conſequences of which thoſe only ſeem reſponſible, who were ſo forward to grant it, while others deem'd it unreaſonable and dangerous. One of the many bad conſequences was, that ſeven millions and a half of the Company's money, being very near two thirds of every man's property in that corporation, was given at once. If this be the caſe, as I have all the reaſons in the world to believe it was, then I can not with any juſtice think, that ſuch of the Directors who had no hand in theſe tranſactions, who knew nothing of the Scheme till it was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and who probably diſlik'd it as much as any others, when they underſtood how dear they were to pay for it, can be ſaid to be the authors of the miſchiefs, which this unaccountable undertaking has brought upon the Nation. Miſchiefs they are with a witneſs, and which I am as far from extenuating, as in my ſtation I ſhall be from ſcreening the guilty: but I am alſo perſuaded that with me you will be for diſtinguiſhing thoſe who may be innocent, and no leſs ſufferers than the loudeſt accuſers.

I do not find in the general Account of the Proceedings of the Directors, nor yet in their Minutes, any orders given for ſelling of Stock for the Company's account. If they who peculiarly proſecuted the Scheme, gave directions for the ſale of the five hundred and odd thouſand pounds, which were diſpos'd of about the time of the paſſing of the Bill, without acquainting the other Directors with it (a circumſtance that cannot eſcape the impartial attention of the Committee) how can that crime be in any juſtice imputed to thoſe, who were entirely ignorant of it? In God's name let it reſt where it ought——but, for reaſons you may eaſily gueſs, I ſhall not dwell on this particular.

The Money Subſcriptions were taken (as we all know) and hurry'd on in ſo incomprehenſible a manner, that this way of proceeding cou'd not, I dare ſay, be the reſult of a number of men acting with cool and deliberate thoughts. 'Tis highly probable that the peculiar contrivers of the Scheme did in their private meetings concert all things beforehand, without the participation or concurrence of their brethren; and ſo impos'd what they pleas'd upon the reſt of the Court, which conjecture of mine, I fancy, will prove to be matter of fact, when the Directors are examin'd by the Committee. In a word, what thro' the deſign of ſome, the ſtupidity of others, and the avarice of all, the ſucceſs of the managers was ſo great, and the applauſe they met with ſo univerſal, that their authority became abſolutely incontrollable in the Court of Directors; nor had it been ſcarce ſafe to have oppos'd them, without the imputation of obſtructing credit, even among thoſe without doors, they were at that time ſo much in favor with the inconſiderate people. Thus every Director was oblig'd to ſubmit to a ſmall proportion allow'd him for himſelf and friends. So the bulk of theſe Subſcriptions was left to the diſpoſal of the Sub and Deputy - Governors, to ſerve perſons of diſtinction, &c. This, I am credibly inform'd, occaſion'd a great deal of murmuring among ſome of the other Directors, but to no purpoſe: for the pill muſt be ſwallow'd, and you are too well acquainted with the nature of ſuch Courts in other Companies, to imagine that Proteſts cou'd be either practicable or uſeful.

No ſooner did a good Sum of Money ariſe by the Subſcriptions, but it naturally brought on the queſtion, *what to do with it?* 'Tis rumour'd abroad, and has been privately told me with much aſſurance, that ſeveral of the Directors would have had this money apply'd to the paying off of *the Redeemables,*

deemables, and inſiſted hard upon it: but this ſuited not the deſigns of the Scheme, and ſo it was carry'd for lending money on Stock and Subſcriptions. With what pernicious conſequences this fatal reſolution has been attended, too too many felt to their ſorrow: but I can never be of the mind, nor I preſume any of the Committee or the reſt of the Houſe, that thoſe Directors who oppos'd it, are in this reſpect culpable, or ought any way to ſuffer for it.

You know as well as I or any man, that when Stock begun to fall, great crowds, and among them perſons of the firſt Quality, were daily at the South-Sea Houſe, preſſing the Directors to buy. A Cabal is ſuſpected to have then ſold a vaſt quantity of Stock, which is a thing deſerving the niceſt enquiry. If they influenc'd counſels within, and the Company's money was made uſe of to buy their Stock, I take it to be a heinous crime in thoſe who were the promoters of ſuch a deſign. But they, on the other hand, who innocently gave their conſent to it, in order to ſupport the price, and hinder the ſinking of the Stock, after Subſcriptions had been taken at a thouſand, and the Redeemables at eight hundred, do not, in my opinion, deſerve any blame; ſince they did it with a good intent, and cou'd not foreſee the ſuddain and precipitate fall of the Stock.

Thus, Sir, I have given you the beſt information I cou'd about this matter. I have learnt from my own and the experience of paſt times, not to be ſway'd by popular obloquy, no more than by popular favor. There's always a mean in ſuch caſes, tho' the bent of the multitude is generally to extremes, being naturally more addicted to confound than to diſtinguiſh. Wherefore I cannot but think people are too ſevere in prejudging and condemning the Directors by the lump: for as I hope, and ſhou'd be very glad, to ſee the real Authors of our preſent uneaſineſſes brought to condign Puniſhment; ſo I ſhou'd be as ſorry, that any honeſt well-meaning Director ſhou'd ſuffer for miſmanagement he cou'd not help, and which 'tis very likely he diſapprov'd. But theſe are reflections that cannot eſcape the wiſdom or juſtice of the Committee, and I hope to be with you my ſelf, before the matter is finally decided. I am, &c.

TO

Mr. * * *.

May 21, 1721.

I Have juſt read over Dr. HARE's new Piece (1). I ſee he has learn'd from Dr. S * * * to write ſcandal in his *Title-page*. But I am apt to believe, that, in the drawing up of the Anſwer it ſelf, he ſtudy'd no pattern; and, leaſt of all, his own. He has in my opinion condeſcended to the meaneſt of all abuſes; and were I to draw up a charge againſt him, I wou'd do it in the words of SOCRATES, which PLATO (in his *Apology*) introduces him ſpeaking againſt MELITUS. Ἀδικεῖν Φημὶ ἄρεον, ὅτι σπουδῇ χαριεντίζεται, ῥαδίως ἐις ἀγῶνας καθιστὰς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ πραγμάτων προσποιούμενος σπουδάζειν καὶ κήδεσθαι, ὧν ἐυδεν πώποτε τούτῳ ἐμέλησεν. It ſhews, I think, no great concern for truth to declare, as he does at his firſt ſetting out, that his (2) having promis'd to anſwer the Biſhop was the only motive for doing it. 'Tis a happy expedient he has found out, of mixing his obſervations on real or ſuppos'd Atheiſtical Books and Perſons, with confutations of the Biſhop. This is ſuch an ungenerous inſinuation, that (if I cou'd not otherwiſe gueſs at the Dean's temper) I muſt think it owing to the moſt virulent malice: as if there were ſomething ſo agreeing between them, that they cannot well be ſeparated. But perhaps he thinks himſelf qualify'd to be a Drawcanſir in controverſy. If ſo, I don't queſtion, but the Biſhop will ſoon prove him miſtaken: tho' he is reſolv'd, it ſeems, not to heed whatever is advanc'd againſt him for the future. Sure no man had ever leſs reaſon to inſult his adverſary with a Q. E. D. at the concluſion of a Paragraph; in which, as far as I am able to judge, whatever he dwells on, either makes for the Biſhop, inſtead of refuting him, or is inconcluſive, or entirely falſe. One manifeſt contradiction in it, I cou'd not help taking notice of. We are told (in page 6) that Κύριοι, when given to civil Governors, is an honourable appellation only; and that *Dominus* is the rendring, not of Κύριος, but of Δεσπότης. This he himſelf refutes in page 9, where he ſays Κύριος is equivalent to Δεσπότης, and ſignifies *a property of the Governor in the perſons govern'd.*

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(1) *Scripture vindicated from the Miſinterpretations of the Lord Biſhop of Bangor: in his Anſwer to the Dean of Worceſter's Viſitation Sermon concerning Church-Authority.*

(2) *Pref. Page* 1.

As to his Quotations for ſettling the ſenſe of the word Πείθεσθαι, I am not without ſome ſuſpicion, that they will all recoil upon himſelf. ARISTOPHANES I am confident (to whom he chuſes particularly to appeal, as writing in the familiar ſtile) can't ſerve his purpoſe. This Author being a favorite of mine, I was eaſily induc'd to examine all the places, where he uſes this word: and I aſſure my ſelf it no where ſignifies *to obey*, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word. It occurs three times in his PLUTUS:

Ἕτεροι δ᾽ ἐπλούτουν ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,
Καὶ συκοφάνται, ϗ πονηροί· ΚΑΡ. πείθομαι. (3)

and again,

Ὃν ἐγὼ φιλῶ μάλιστα μετὰ σέ. ΠΛ. πείθομαι. (4)

and again,

Τί οὖν ἄν, τὸ πρᾶγμ᾽ εἴη; πόθεν καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ,
Χρεμύλος πεπλούτηκ᾽ ἐξαπίνης; οὐ πείθομαι. (5)

And in his NUBES, where a ſtupid illiterate fellow is ſhewn a Map of the world,

Αὕτη δέ σοι γῆς περίοδος πάσης. Ὁρᾷς;
Αἵδε μὲν Ἀθῆναι. ΣΤΡ. τί σὺ λέγεις; οὐ πείθομαι. (6)

In all theſe places it is impoſſible the word ſhou'd mean any thing, but *I believe it is as you ſay*, or *I cannot be perſuaded it is ſo*. The ſame ſenſe is to be put upon it in this verſe of his ACHARNENSES:

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(3) Ver. 30.
(4) Ver. 251.
(5) Ver. 335.
(6) Ver. 207.

Κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμεν, ἔι τί τούτων πείθομαι. (7)

In the NUBES, where a father is endeavouring to prevail upon his ſon, to forſake a looſe way of living, by all the arts of a mild perſuaſion, we have the following words:

Ὦ πιῶ, πιθȣ̃. ΦΕΙ. τὶ ȣ̃ν πιθȣ̃μαι δῆτα σοι (8);
ΣΤ. Ἔκστρεψον ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπȣς,
Καί μάνθαν' ἐλθὼν ἄ'γ ἐγὼ παραινέσω.
ΦΕΙ. Λέγε δὴ τί κελεύεις; ΣΤ. ϗ τὶ, πείσει;
ΦΕΙ πείσομαι. (8)

After this, Juſtice is repreſented making uſe of ſeveral arguments to gain him over to her ſide: but Injuſtice ſhews him, to what reproach he will be expos'd, if he ſuffers himſelf to be perſuaded by the other:

Εἰ τᾶυθ', ὦ μειράκιον πέισει τούτῳ, &c. (9)

The inſtance out of the VESPAE, upon which the Dean lays ſo great a ſtreſs, is far from declaring in his favour. An old fool is there repreſented, reſolving to continue his practice of frequenting the Courts of Judicature:

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(7) Ver. 151.
(8) Ver. 87.
(9) Ver. 996.

cature: and his ſon endeavouring by ſeveral arguments to diſſuade him from it, the *Chorus* adviſes him to comply with his requeſt:

> Πιθοῦ, πιθοῦ λόγοισι, μήδ᾽ ἄφρων γένῃ. (10)

Can it be ſaid that the father (whoſe power over the ſon, according to the Dean, ought to be very great) is here bid to obey the ſon? The father all this while continues ſilent. The *Chorus* tells the ſon, this ſilence is owing to his being convinc'd of his miſtake; and that he will now conſent to do, what before he cou'd not be perſuaded to:

> Ἅ σοῦ παρακελέυοντος ὀυκ ἐπέιθετο, (11)
> Νῦν οῦν ἴσως τοῖς σοῖς λόγοισι πέιθεται,
> Καὶ φρονεῖ μεθιστὰς ἐς τολοιπὸν τὸν τρόπον,
> Πειθόμενος τὲ σοίγ᾽ ——

The ſon continues to preſs him to a compliance,

> Ἴθ᾽, ὦ πατερ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ. (12)

To which he replies, τί πείθομαι σοί; and upon his ſon's telling him, not to concern himſelf with judicial proceſſes, he anſwers,

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(10) ver. 728.
(11) ver 744.
(12) ver. 757.

——————————— Τοῦτο δὲ (13
ʼΑδης διακρινεῖ πρότερον, ἢ ʼγὼ πείσομαι.

In all theſe paſſages, which very unluckily for ſome body follow ſo cloſely in the ſame Scene, and which give light to each other, it is manifeſt that the word has not the ſenſe the Dean wou'd make it confeſs; but only *to be or not to be perſuaded, to comply or diſagree.* In the AVES of the ſame Poet, where a perſon has a propoſal to make, which, if accepted, he thinks will be of great ſervice to the Republic of Birds, we meet with the following words:

Ἦ μεγ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν ʼΟρνίθων γένει, (14)
Καὶ δύναμιν, ἥ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ πείθεσθέ μοι.
ΕΠ. τί σοι πιθώμεθ'; ΠΕΙ. ὅ,τι πίθοισθε; Πρῶτα μὲν, &c.

Here it can ſignify nothing, but *to follow advice:* and afterwards, where the ſame perſon ſeconds the *Chorus,* in deſiring an interview with the Nightingale, it can't be ſaid any obedience is demanded.

Ὦ τοῦτο μὲν νὴ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθοῦ. (15)

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(13) ver. 759.
(14) ver. 163.
(15) ver. 662.

Again we find this terrible word in his LYSISTRATA.

Κȣ̓δέποθ' ἑκουσα τ'ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῷ πείσομαι. (16)

This is the paſſage in which the Dean ſeems to triumph, when he obſerves, it is here us'd of unwilling obedience. But he's ſtrangely miſtaken in the meaning of it. The Athenians are ſuppoſed by the Poet to declare war againſt the Lacedemonians; and the women, not knowing how to ſpare their husbands, endeavour to oblige them to make peace. Till this is accompliſh'd, they bind themſelves by oath not to admit them to their embraces. LYSISTRATA in the name of the reſt reads the oath, declaring ſhe will ſuffer no man to careſs her; that ſhe will ſtay at home, and adorn her ſelf as much as poſſible, to appear the more engaging in her husband's eyes; and, that when ſhe has by theſe arts enflam'd him, ſhe will refuſe to ſatisfy his deſire.

Κȣ̓δέποθ' ἑκουσα τ'ἀνδρὶ τῷ μῷ πείσομαι. (17)

'Tis ſtrange the Dean ſhou'd interpret a modeſt expreſſion for love-familiarity, to be obedience. His Lady, I believe, is of another mind. I forbear to mention, that the phraſe

(16) ver. 223.
(17) Ubi ſupra.

phraſe ȣ̓κ ἑκων πείθεσθαι does not mean to be unwilling to obey in any good author. In Plato eſpecially, who often makes uſe of it, it can ſignify nothing but *not eaſily to be perſuaded.* Οὐκ ἑκων πείθεται, ȣ̓ ῥαδίως ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι, ὀυ πάνυ ἐυθέως ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι, are with him equivalent expreſſions. Thoſe I have alledg'd are all or moſt of the places in Aristophanes, where this ſame word πείθεσθαι is to be ſeen; in none of which, I fancy, will it be found big with that authority the Dean contends for.

As to the more ſerious part of the argument, where he does not refute himſelf (which I think is often the caſe) I ſee nothing but what the Biſhop has already anſwer'd. I ſhou'd be glad to be inform'd, what relation a conſiderable part of his Book has to the preſent Controverſy. He is very fond, I obſerve, of marginal notes; one of which (I mean his emendation of Horace) I ſuppoſe was introduc'd to fix to himſelf the reputation of a judicious Critic. I was the more ſurpriz'd at this, becauſe, in the *Poſtſcript* of his *Sermon,* he promiſed the Biſhop, that he wou'd not turn to any other ſubject to recover that character.

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Albemarle-ſtreet, January
the 5th, 1721-2.

SAturday night about nine I received yours of that day, which gives me ſuch a diſmal account of your ill ſtate of health, that I was extremely concern'd at the condition I found you were in, I doubt for want of neceſſaries.

I cannot forbear wiſhing you were in town, for I doubt you cannot eaſily get ſuch broths and bits of eaſy digeſtion as I ſhou'd take care to procure for you. Your Landlady may be a very good woman, and have a great reſpect for you, but her poverty may prevent her from providing ſuch ſort of victuals and drinks, as are proper for a ſick man reduced to ſo weak a condition as I find you are. Indeed I expected you every day in town after the Letter I wrote to you laſt week, not imagining you had been ſo much out of order: tho' I ſaw by your looks that a fit of ſickneſs was growing upon you, which I hop'd your Vomits and Purges had prevented in a great meaſure.

I intend to ſollicite the Peer your old ſtingy acquaintance and my neighbour, and ſee whether a Letter, which I ſhall ſend him, will move him once in his life to be generous and charitable.

Your reflexions upon the Phyſicians, and the Injuſtice of the World are very right; but you muſt not indulge melancholy thoughts at ſuch a time. Let it ſuffice you to know, that although my circumſtances are narrow enough, you ſhall never want neceſſaries whilſt I live. I am ſenſible that bare neceſſaries are but cold comfort to a man of your ſpirit and deſert; but 'tis all I dare promiſe. 'Tis an ungrateful age, and we muſt bear with it the beſt we may, till we can mend it. Adieu, be cheerful, and think of going with me for Ireland.

Yours ſincerely,
MOLESWORTH.

TO THE SAME.

Munday night 9 a-Clock.

I AM ſorry to find you continue ſo ill, and yet dare not preſcribe any thing for you: no ſorts of Quacks have credit with you, and I can recommend nothing to you but your own kitchen Phyſic. Veal broth with barley, or (if you be enclined to a looſeneſs) with rice boiled in it, is very proper. 'Tis a very ſickly time: there is a rot among our Lords, five or ſix of them are dropt off within this week, yet little loſs to the Public.

I am glad you got the Madera, and wiſh I had a ſtock of my own to ſend you more. I beg'd the bottle I ſent you from Doctor Welwood, for the right ſort is not to be bought. I writ the moſt moving Letter I cou'd invent to your ſtingy Peer, and he excuſed his writing an anſwer; but by word of mouth told my man, that he had already ſent you ſomething, meaning, as I ſuppoſe, the chetif preſent my Lady H*** mentions. 'Tis a ſad monſter of a man, and not worthy of further notice to be taken of him.

I wonder your appetite does not mend in that fine air: 'tis a ſign your diſtemper has not done with you.

Adieu, let me hear from you now and then, ſince I am not able to ſee you.

Yours

Moleſworth.

TO

To * * *.

Putney, *Jan.* 28, 1721-2.

SIR,

AS I wou'd never ſerve my friends by halves, were I in a capacity to be uſeful to them; ſo I ſhall ſet no other bounds to my good wiſhes in their behalf, but what nature her ſelf has irrevocably ſet: and therefore, that all the years of your life, and thoſe of each in your hopeful family, may be attended with health and proſperity, is my very hearty and unfeign'd wiſh, this year and as long as I live.

The day after I had the honor to ſee you in London, I fell mighty ill, having been lingring before; and the Doctor that was call'd to me, made me twenty times worſe, if poſſible. All acknowledge that he had like to kill me. I was brought hither the Saturday following (which was the next before Chriſtmas) and have never ſince been able to go out of my Chamber, ſcarce to walk croſs it for ſome time. From that day to this I never taſted a bit of meat, being ſolely confin'd to broths and other liquids; not by the Doctors, but my ſtomach, which refuſes and throws out every thing elſe: *ſit venia*. Had not my Lady H * * * flatter'd me more than once in her Letters, that you would be ſo kind as to call on me; I ſhou'd have given notice to you before, as to one of my beſt friends, of the condition I am in, tho' very perceptibly better than I was. I need ſay no more on this ſubject.

The laſt time I was at your houſe, ſeeing the young Ladies drudging at the longwinded and unweildy *Cleopatra*, I promis'd to accommodate them with entertainment of that kind, that ſhould pleaſe them much more; and eſpecially *Zayde*, the beſt underſtood of all Romances. I thought then to be the bearer my ſelf, but ſince I cannot yet be ſo happy, I take the liberty to ſend it now; and, when they have done with this, I ſhall ſend 'em another.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

TO

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

Thurſday, *Feb.* 8, 1721-2.

Dear SIR,

I Began to be very uneaſy at not hearing from you for eight or ten days together, and had order'd my man to walk to Putney this morning, when I receiv'd your Letter laſt night.

The return of the ſpring, and your keeping to kitchen Phyſic, will reſtore you to health. I would not have you venture abroad too early, altho' I long to ſee you. Among other things, I wou'd ſhew you the moſt noble Collection of Papers, and authentic Records for the writing a Hiſtory of the late Wars (from King WILLIAM's death to Queen ANNE's Peace) that you can poſſibly imagine. The Colonel L *** and I would deſire your aſſiſtance, and wou'd endeavour to make you find your account in ſo doing, for ſo much of your time and pains as ſhould be employ'd that way. But 'tis time enough to talk of this, when you are reſtor'd to perfect health.

My Lady H *** is a perſon very much beyond the rank of our modern Ladies. I have always eſteem'd her as ſuch, and ſhe has as conſtantly made good my opinion. You and I might give twenty inſtances of this. But none pleaſes me better at preſent than her kindneſs and charity for you.

I think'tis very wholeſome for you not to be troubled with publick news, unleſs you were better. You will come into a new world when you get once abroad again, and every thing will be ſtrange and diverting to you one way or other. Our weather is too good for the ſeaſon of the year: but do you keep to a great fire ſide till March be far advanc'd. Our Parliament will be up in a fortnight, and I intend to ſit in no future one.

Adieu.

Yours,

MOLESWORTH.

TO

TO

The Right Honourable

THE LORD MOLESWORTH.

Putney, Friday-Noon.

My Lord,

WHEN I ſeem'd to be in a fair way of mending, my old pains in my thighs, reins, and ſtomach, ſeiz'd me violently two days ago; with a total loſs of appetite, hourly reachings, and very high colour'd water. I take it for granted, that theſe are ſymptoms of approaching Gravel, and therefore I comfort my ſelf with the thoughts, that when this Gravel comes, I ſhall together with it be diſcharg'd from my pains.

In my laſt, I told your Lordſhip, that tho' your reſolution of ſerving in no future Parliament, might be beneficial to your ſelf, it wou'd be detrimental to your Country: but if I had not been in haſte to finiſh a long Letter, I ſhould have added, that upon ſecret thoughts, even your Country wou'd be a gainer by a retirement from buſineſs at this age. My reaſons and examples for ſupporting this aſſertion are numerous. Yet conſidering my preſent unfitneſs for writing, I ſhall only trouble you with the example of CICERO, who during the ſeven year's ſpace that he was forcibly kept out of buſineſs, wrote all thoſe incomparable Books, which are much more uſeful to the world, than the whole courſe of his Employments. The great noiſe he made in the Forum has not contributed near ſo much to his Immortality, as the fruits of his Retirement, whereof nevertheleſs we have but the leaſt part remaining. In like manner, MY LORD, that excellent work, wherein you have made ſuch progreſs, and which ſeems to reſemble ſo nearly CICERO *de Republica*, will be a nobler task, and more uſeful to mankind, than any Senatorial efforts: *nec aliud ſcribendi genus tam è dignitate veſtra mihi videtur.*

I am, &c.

TO

TO

Mr. TOLAND.

March 1, 1721-2.

Dear TOLAND,

I Wonder I hear nothing from you or of you: you muſt needs be very ill, or careleſs; I had much rather it were the laſt. I hope altho' I do not ſend you ſupplies (ſuch ſmall ones as I can afford) yet that you wou'd be ſo free as to aſk me in caſe you wanted them, for I am one of thoſe who with a friend deſire freedom, and expect to be told when other reſources fail. Pray let me hear from you often. I am ſometimes very much indiſpoſed, ſometimes tolerably well in health; now I am the latter, but that may not continue.

You will ſee that I am embark'd in a grand affair, no leſs than ſtanding for Weſtminſter. I have employ'd all my friends as ſollicitors and runners about, and great hopes are given me. I am ſorry you are not in a ſtate of health to do me ſervice. Believe me, when I tell you, you ſhall fare as I do, and if that be not extraordinary well, blame not.

Your affectionate
friend and ſervant,

MOLESWORTH.

Mr. TOLAND's

ANSWER.

Putney, March 2, 1721-2.

MY LORD,

I Was never a careleſs correſpondent, or were I ſo to any, ſure I am, it ſhould not be of all mankind to your Lordſhip. Neither was it for not needing aſſiſtance of my friends, I have been ſo long ſilent; but by reaſon of almoſt inceſſant pains, and very extraordinary weakneſs. Two or three days before your ſervant call'd here laſt, I grew much worſe than I was; and from a mending ſtate (the vigour of my mind increaſing, tho' with little influence on the infirmity of my body) I relaps'd again into all my former ſymptoms, more frequent and malignant than ever. This has oblig'd me to put my ſelf into the hands of a Phyſician, who I believe to be an honeſt man, prepares his own medicines, and explains every thing he does to me. He has already put me to ſeveral little expences, ſome of them extremely uſeful to my poor corpuſcle, as four dimitty waſtcoats, which a viſit from Sir T*** J*** enabled me to pay. I need not deſcend to more particulars, ready pence going neceſſarily out every day.

Since you will embark once more on that troubleſome ſea, I heartily wiſh you all good luck, and wiſh I had been able to run for you night and day, which with great ardor I wou'd. I am, with the utmoſt truth and zeal,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervant.

FINIS.

AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING SOME PIECES FOUND AMONG Mr. *TOLAND*'s PAPERS.

OF THE IMMATERIALITY OF THE SOUL, AND ITS DISTINCTION FROM THE BODY:

BY

Mr. BENJAMIN BAYLY, M.A.

Rector of St. JAMES's in Briſtol.

IN A

LETTER TO ***.

SIR,

IT is with no ſmall pleaſure and inſtruction that I have read thoſe Papers, that lately paſs'd between you and the learned and reverend Mr. CLARKE, concerning the *Immateriality of the Soul*; and although it would be too great preſump-

tion

tion in me, to pretend to determine on which ſide the advantage in that Controverſy lay, yet certainly you engage me to you too powerly in ſome particulars, and if I may not ſay you demonſtrate againſt Mr. CLARKE, yet I and the whole world muſt ſay, you demonſtrate moſt evidently your own incomparable parts and underſtanding. So that if a man ſhould fancy you worſted in that diſpute, yet however it was not Mr. CLARKE that worſted you, tho a very learned and ingenious man; but that invincible thing, Truth, which at that time peradventure one might conceit your enemy. But let that be as it will, my intention is not to meddle in it, but rather to propoſe to you an Argument of ſomewhat a different kind, and which ſeems to me freer from exception. And as your great Candour and Ingenuity, and the general Reputation you have for a man of unſpotted virtue, as theſe make you highly deſerve any endeavours that can be uſed, to ſet you right in matters of an important nature; ſo the ſame virtues, I am ſure, muſt render any ſuch endeavours highly acceptable to you, from whomſoever they proceed, and how weak ſoever they ſhould prove. 'Tis true, you profeſs to believe the Soul immortal, from the authority of divine Revelation, and becauſe you profeſs to believe this grand principle of all Religion, it would be the utmoſt uncharitableneſs in any man to queſtion it; eſpecially, when no contradiction, but the higheſt agreeableneſs to this belief, is found in your life and converſation; but how to make this belief agreeable to your ſentiments about the Soul, is verily a difficulty with me; and if I could have reconciled this, or made you conſiſtent with yourſelf, I ſhould not have troubled you on this point, notwithſtanding you had held the Soul corporeal. I ſhall wave any farther introduction or ceremony to you, and lay before you the argument itſelf, which, if you pleaſe to conſider, and give your thoughts on it, you will both ſhew me an extraordinary civility, and perhaps give ſome farther light to the ſubject, upon which you have been lately employ'd.

THE Argument is in PLATO (1); and as his writings you know are, it proceeds by way of Dialogue, between SOCRATES and ALCIBIADES. The ſubſtance of it, I ſhall endeavour to tranſlate, and then make ſome remarks upon it.

" *Socra.* Who is he that diſcourſes " with you? Is it not SOCRATES? And who " is he that hears? Is it not ALCIBIADES? " *Alcib.* Doubtleſs. *Socra.* And what is this " buſineſs of diſcourſing? Is it any thing but " a man's uſing ſpeech? Are not theſe the " ſame? *Alcib.* It is not to be deny'd. *So-* " *cra.* Is not then he that uſes a thing, and

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(1) PLAT. Alcib. 1ſt.

“ the thing uſed, different, diſtinct from one “ another? *Alcib.* How ſay you, SOCRATES? “ *Socra.* To the purpoſe. Conſider any handy-craftſman. Is he not different from the “ tools and inſtruments that he uſes in his “ work? The thing that cuts from the perſon “ that cuts with it? *Alcib.* Paſt queſtion. “ *Socra.* What? in regard to any muſical Inſtrument, is not the thing the ſame? Is “ not the Lute one thing, and he who plays “ on it another? *Alcib.* Confeſs'd. *Socra.* “ And this, ALCIBIADES, was the purpoſe of “ my queſtion to you juſt now, whether he “ that uſes a thing, and the thing uſed, do “ not always appear different, diſtinct, things? “ *Alcib.* They do ſo indeed. *Socra.* Very “ good! And pray what does one of theſe “ handy-craftſmen in exerciſe of his occupation uſe? *Alcib.* He uſes his inſtruments. “ *Socra.* Does he not uſe likewiſe his hands? “ *Alcib.* His hands likewiſe. *Socra.* And “ his eyes? *Alcib.* I grant ye. *Socra.* And “ was it not before granted, that he that uſes “ a thing, and the thing uſed, are different? “ and conſequently that the Muſician, or any “ other artiſt is different, not only from his “ inſtruments, but from his hands and eyes, “ thoſe parts of the Body that he uſes? *Alcib.* Very true. *Socra.* And does not a “ man uſe his whole Body? *Alcib.* I think “ ſo indeed. *Socra.* Carry this ſtill along “ with you, That the thing uſed, and he who “ uſes it, are different. *Alcib.* I remember it,

“ SOCRATES. *Socra.* I therefore conclude, “ that what we call a Man is a thing entirely “ different from his Body. *Alcib.* I cannot “ deny it. *Socra.* What is it then in this “ compoſition that we may moſt properly “ call the Man? *Alcib.* Nay, in that you “ muſt excuſe me, SOCRATES. *Socra.* What! “ know you not what it is that uſes the Body? *Alcib.* Full well. *Socra.* Is it any “ thing but the Soul? *Alcib.* No, certainly. “ *Socra.* And is not this what rules and governs the Body? *Alcib.* No doubt.”

THIS, in my opinion, will furniſh us with idea's, at leaſt lay a foundation of proving (I had almoſt ſaid demonſtrating) the Soul's diſtinction from the Body.

AND in order to it, I ſhall firſt premiſe a few things, that my meaning may be the more clearly apprehended; and next, conſider more exactly, the force of the preceding Argument.

1*ſt*, IT is not my intention from this argument, to conclude any thing immediately touching the nature of the ſubſtance of the Soul, not indeed whether it be perfectly immaterial, diveſted of all the properties of matter, (as I take it *immaterial* ſignifies) and conſequently of extenſion, as well as others; although it be often retain'd by ſome who conceive the Soul immaterial and goes into its idea, which ſeems to me very diſagreeable. For what is immaterial but a negation of all matter? And while men aſſert this of the Soul, they ſhould ſtill continue to it, the primeſt property of matter, if not repugnant, yet for certain is extreamly incongruous, and the ground of endleſs difficulties and jargon. But with this, I have nothing to do here. By the Body, we underſtand this corruptible ſyſtem of matter, which is made up of divers parts, blood, animal ſpirits, &c. and a particular diſpoſition and organization of thoſe parts; and my intent is to prove the Soul none of theſe, no mode, quality, power or faculty of any of theſe ſeparately, neither the reſult of the whole taken together; but that which thinks in us is a ſubſtance, and a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body. And I rather chuſe to call the Soul a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, than call it immaterial; becauſe many men have taught the Soul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body, and yet have diſcours'd of it as material (as did, I conceive, TERTULLIAN) but then their idea of this matter, of which they thought the Soul to partake, was vaſtly different from their idea of the Body: it was matter of a different kind, matter and matter differing in their language and idea's, almoſt as much perhaps, as Spirit and Body does now according to the moderns. With the rectitude of this way of thinking, I have nothing to do.

2*dly*, WHAT we underſtand here by the terms *ſubſtance*, *faculty*, *mode*, &c. By *ſubſtance*, we conceive ſomething that ſubſiſts of itſelf, and that is the ſubject of what we term *properties*, *powers*, *faculties*, *modes*, &c. Theſe latter cannot ſubſiſt, nor act of themſelves, and this is what diſtinguiſhes between them: all powers and faculties muſt be powers and faculties of ſomething, as Mr. LOCKE ſays ſomewhere, *to conceive of a thing as capable of acting, is to conceive of it as a ſubſtance*; and therefore to conceive thus of any faculty, we depart from our idea of a faculty, and conceive of it as a ſubſtance; and if we can for certain demonſtrate any thing to act of itſelf, we demonſtrate it to be a ſubſtance; and if we can prove the Soul thus to act of itſelf, we prove it a diſtinct ſubſtance from the Body.

3*dly*, BY the *Soul*, I underſtand ſomething that thinks within us. And this I ſay, on purpoſe to prevent any ſuſpicions in you, that I endeavour to impoſe on myſelf or you, by taking that for granted, which ought to be proved; as poſſibly might be imagin'd, when I ſay, *the Soul acts upon the Body*, &c. by which I do not ſuppoſe the Soul and Body two diſtinct ſubſtances, but Soul is equivalent with me to Thought, or the power of thinking, be it what it will.

4*thly*, WHAT I mean by *different* or *diſtinct ſubſtances*. Now it is certain, we may and are very apt to fancy differences and diſtinctions as to things where there are really none. As for example; any ſyſtem of matter, any common ſtone or pebble, is one diſtinct thing or ſubſtance, but yet it is made up of ſeveral parts; but from this diſtinction of parts, it would be a ſtrange way of arguing, when the queſtion is concerning any one Body or Syſtem of Matter, hence to infer it ſeveral diſtinct things or ſubſtances, becauſe the thing itſelf conſiſts of theſe ſeveral parts, in a peculiar way diſpoſed and united. So in conſidering Man, I would not impoſe ſuch a groſs fallacy on myſelf, becauſe in this compoſition, I can conceive it made up of ſeveral parts, hence to infer man compounded of ſeveral diſtinct ſubſtances. It avails nothing therefore, unleſs theſe parts can be proved of a different diſtinct kind. Thus you ſee I labour to free myſelf from all ambiguity of expreſſion; and if I am impos'd on, I am ſure it is not with my own knowledge and conſent.

TO return to the Argument of SOCRATES, in which two things are carefully to be conſider'd:

I. WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uſes it as an inſtrument or organ.

II. WHETHER this demonſtrates a real and ſubſtantial diſtinction between Soul and Body.

1ſt, WHETHER the Soul acts upon the Body, or uſes it as an inſtrument or organ. That is, when the parts of the Body are ſound and rightly diſpoſed, whether Thought or this thinking power doth not communicate motion to them, influence, direct, govern them. This every man experiences, at leaſt of many parts of the Body; my hands, eyes, &c. I move according to the direction or determination of my will. The only doubt that can be ſtarted, is, whether Thought thus moves the whole body, or whether there are not ſome inviſible parts, viz. the Brain, and animal Spirits, from whence this motion or influence is derived. I undertake therefore to prove this propoſition, *viz.*

THAT the motions of the Body, ſuch as we term voluntary, proceed not ultimately from the Brain, or any other inviſible parts of the Body, but from Thought, or the power of thinking.

FOR example, my hand is at reſt; by the determination of my will, I move it. What is that that moves my hand? According to the common hypotheſis, immediately I confeſs it is the Muſcles, animal Spirits, &c. But then what moves, or at leaſt differenly determines them? (for it muſt be granted, the muſcles and animal ſpirits that immediately move my hand, muſt receive motion, or a different determination of motion, when my hand moves, from what they were in, when my hand was at reſt) I ſay then, from whence proceeded this motion of the Nerves, animal Spirits, &c. that immediately mov'd my hand? We will ſay, from ſome parts or part of the brain. (And in this, we ſay no more than can be prov'd, what none that I know, deny.) But what moves, or at leaſt gives a different determination of motion to this part of the brain, from whence this motion in my hand is derived? (for it muſt be granted again, that this part of the brain, from whence this motion to my hand is derived, muſt be at that inſtant put into motion, or ſome different diſpoſition, or determination of motion, from what they were in when my hand was at reſt. Theſe parts of the brain cannot be in the ſame motion or diſpoſition, when my hand moves, as when my hand was at reſt.) Well! I ſay, what gives theſe parts of the brain this motion, or this different diſpoſition or determination of motion? Muſt it not be reſolved into thought or the power of thinking? for certainly here is nothing elſe to do it.

LET us examine 2dly, Whether this argues two diſtinct Subſtances in Man, whether this will infer that that thinks in us, to be a Subſtance different from the Brain, animal Spirits, &c. I think in truth, this is as demonſtrable.

FOR certainly, If a Body at reſt, moves, ſomething muſt put it into motion; again, if a Body in motion, be differently determin'd in its motion, ſomething muſt alter, or differently determine its motion, or elſe the Muſician might be the ſame thing with his Fiddle, the Horſe with his Rider, and the Tennis-ball with the Wall, that rebounds it. To be guilty of a little tautology. Here is a Body at reſt. It is moved. Muſt it not be ſomething that moves it? Again, here is a body moving in a ſtrait line, it inſtantly changes from this to a circular one. Can this be without ſomething that changes and guides its motion? The parts of the brain are at reſt, or under ſome peculiar motion, or diſpoſition; this thinking power gives theſe parts motion, or a different diſpoſition or determination of motion. Muſt not this therefore be ſome real ſubſiſting thing, different from the brain or the parts of it, that it moves or directs? I ſaw once a Phyſician by moving the nerves, at ſome diſtance from the hand, move the hands and the fingers in a Skeleton diverſe ways. Was not the Phyſician different from the Skeleton? What the Phyſician did, Thought did in the living man more compleatly. Why is not then that which thinks in us a different thing from the body, that it moves? I know not, how other men think, but it ſeems to me, I have hardly about any thing more clear Ideas. But yet to examine this matter the moſt ſeverely, I will therefore fancy to my ſelf three Suppoſitions, whereby I will endeavour to ſolve this, without the aſſiſtance of a diſtinct Subſtance from the body.

1ſt, I will examine, whether ſome part or parts of the brain cannot move, or differently determine themſelves.

2dly, WHETHER this may not ariſe from ſome peculiar organization, &c.

3dly, WHETHER a power of ſelf-motion cannot be ſuperadded by GOD to ſome peculiar part or parts of the brain. As I have not met with any thing very different from theſe, ſo I believe it is not eaſy to form any very different hypotheſis.

1. WHETHER ſome parts of the brain, cannot move or differently determine themſelves. The parts of the brain are matter, and whatſoever a man may fancy about the powers of matter, one can never fancy matter, when once at reſt, capable of giving it ſelf motion, or differently determining its own motion; no more than it can convert it ſelf from a ſquare to a round figure: which, if it could do, I know not what it might not do, it might give it ſelf underſtanding and wiſdom as well, and all other attributes of the Deity. And this is not only the caſe of Matter, but of

any other thing; to talk of giving itſelf that, which it had not, is a plain contradiction, becauſe giving ſuppoſes the being already poſſeſſed of that, which is to be given, and yet the latter clauſe ſuppoſes, that it has not, that which is to be given. So that if by matter's moving it ſelf, be underſtood of matter's giving it ſelf motion, (and it muſt give it ſelf motion, or another muſt give it, for motion cannot ariſe out of nothing) nothing can be more evidently abſurd. But no body imagines ſo abſurd a thing.

YES really, I think, he imagines the ſelf ſame thing, who thinks, that matter at reſt, be it the brain, or any other matter, can move itſelf, can ſtop or differently determine its own motion. For while matter is at reſt, motion is not in it; while it moves in a right line, it moves not in a circular one. When it moves therefore here is an addition of motion made to it; when it moves from a ſtrait to a circular line, its motion is changed. Whence is this motion in the firſt caſe, this alteration of motion in the ſecond caſe? The force and interpoſition of another being, is diſown'd. If therefore this motion be derived from it ſelf, muſt not itſelf give it? for certainly here is ſomething added, when motion is added, here is ſomething that was not before; which muſt be derived from itſelf or ſome other being. But may it not have a power of moving itſelf, although it doth not always actually move?

STILL we cheat our ſelves with terms. For what is this power of motion in matter? To me it is nothing but a capacity of being moved, and then ſtill it will require ſome other thing to move it, as in many caſes, a power in things, ſignifies nothing, but a capacity of being acted on; but in this caſe, I think it is clearly ſo. For if you take power here for ſomething active in matter, I would ask you two things. Firſt, when this power is brought into act, or influences the parts of matter, whether matter then is not paſſive, or receives not the influence of that power, (this it muſt ſurely do, or elſe matter would never move) and yet in regard this power of motion is a power of matter, I would ask you again, whether matter is not at the ſame time active. So that the ſame parts of matter, it ſeems, at the ſame time, are both active and paſſive. Can you reconcile this? that at the ſame time, matter ſhould be both active and paſſive, or act and not act? To me again this has the face of a very groſs contradiction. If you ſay, this power acts ſeparately on matter, and ſo exerts itſelf on the parts of matter: I agree with you, but then this is evidently our Idea of a Subſtance diſtinct from matter.

2dly. SEEING in the preſent caſe of voluntary motions, this force that moves the brain, and upon which the motion in my hand depends, I ſay, ſeeing this force is not actually exerted upon the parts of the brain, when I move not my hand (for if it were actually exerted, my hand would actually move) I would ask you what it is that actually exerts it, and again ſtops it. We all feel, it is done by the mediation of our wills: but willing is nothing towards moving or determining any parts of matter, unleſs ſome force or influence attends it. And the point is, to what belongs this force and influence: if you ſay to matter, you make the thing to be moved, and that which moves it, all one; and again you ſuppoſe, ſuch a power in matter, that I dare ſay, is your own and every body's idea of a ſubſtance; and you prove to me that which thus acts upon matter, to be no ſubſtance, and I will prove to you, matter is no ſubſtance. But of this again hereafter. I ſuppoſe not this your opinion, that matter as ſuch, can move it ſelf; but rather the others remaining. I proceed therefore to examine,

II. In the 2d place, Whether this may not ariſe from ſome peculiar diſpoſition of parts, organization, &c. Whether this way cannot be explain'd theſe voluntary motions. And I think, it is impoſſible. By diſpoſition and organization of parts, I underſtand a ſort of clock-work or mechaniſm, from whence we will ſuppoſe thinking to reſult. What ſort of mechaniſm or diſpoſition of parts, this as you will not undertake to ſhew, ſo I ſhall not trouble you, nor my ſelf about; whatſoever it be, I hope to prove clearly, voluntary motions can be the reſult of no ſuch thing.

1. I ſuppoſe you will grant me that any mechaniſm whatſoever can produce nothing but neceſſary acts or effects, and if you ſuppoſe the Soul the reſult of any ſort of organization or diſpoſition of parts, in my preſent conceit I think my ſelf able to maintain, this reſult, viz. the Soul, either a different ſubſtance from the mechaniſm, diſpoſition of parts, or elſe man a neceſſary agent; for thinking here follows from this organization and diſpoſition of parts, and conſequently muſt not only be neceſſary in general, but in the ſeveral and particular acts of it; and choice and willing being particular ways or modes of thinking, theſe muſt be neceſſary, as neceſſary as ſtriking in a clock. So that here will be an end of all ſort of Liberty and freedom in man; and becauſe I believe, we have demonſtration for theſe, we have certainly demonſtration againſt thinking's being any reſult of mechaniſm and diſpoſition of parts, &c. I take it here it is impoſſible you can defend any ſort of liberty in man, if thinking be nothing but the reſult of mechaniſm. For the cauſe that produces thinking, acts neceſſarily, and hence that thinking ſhould be free, is a perfectly unintelligible thing. For thinking is the effect, and that the effect ſhould

be free, when the cauſe acted neceſſarily, that produced it, is perfectly irreconcileable to itſelf; unleſs you take the effect, which the diſpoſition of parts, &c. which is nothing but the power of mechaniſm, produced, for ſomething diſengaged from this mechaniſm, for ſomething free, and that depends not upon the mechaniſm; then indeed you can defend freedom, but then this thinking power is no longer a power of the mechaniſm, an effect that mechaniſm produces, but a diſtinct thing and ſubſtance. And I moſt paſſionately long to have you arguing on this point, denying Liberty in man, or defending it on your principles; making thinking the reſult of mechaniſm or a diſpoſition of parts, altogether a neceſſary effect, and yet a free thing. But what do I talk of a free thing? thinking is the reſult of mechaniſm of a certain organization and diſpoſition of parts, doth not therefore this certain organization, diſpoſition of parts, &c. produce thinking? And then what is thinking here but an effect? And to talk of an effect's acting, is ridiculous and contradictory, as if a man ſhould talk of the ſtriking in a clock's acting, when ſtriking is conceived as nothing but an effect produced by the diſpoſition of parts in the clock. 'Tis true, to ſay there is a power in the clock to ſtrike, is well, becauſe this is the cauſe of it: but to conſider ſtriking as the reſult of this power in a clock, as ſomething ariſing out of it, and actually produced, this is to conſider it as an effect; and to talk of an effect's acting, is either to conſider an effect, as ſome real thing that can act of itſelf, or elſe is down right nonſenſe. And yet I have heard men diſcourſe, that the power of thinking is the reſult of mechaniſm, of ſome diſpoſition of parts, &c. of the brain, which, if this power be no real thing, is idly call'd a power, it is only a bare effect, and can no more act, than as I ſaid ſtriking in a clock can act; and if the caſe be ſo, if thinking flows from a diſpoſition of parts, mechaniſm, power of the ſyſtem, (for theſe words ſignify much the ſame) to me, there hath not been a greater cheat, a greater folly in all ages, than this notion of the Liberty and freedom of man.

TO make this yet clearer if poſſible. Thinking ariſes from matter organized, or diſpoſed after ſome peculiar manner, that we know not, into a ſyſtem. We muſt therefore affirm, if there be nothing in man but matter, that matter thus diſpoſed, &c. thinks. I here aſk you, whether it be not agreeable to your ideas, that if nothing guides matter thus diſpoſed, there could be no ſuch thing as freedom; for freedom implies in ſome caſes, a power of acting or not acting; but you can never deduce this from any being, that has nothing in it, but matter diſpoſed into a ſyſtem. For there being nothing to hinder its operations, it would always act or operate, where the cauſe were ſufficient; where the cauſe were not ſufficient, no operation or effect would ſucceed. And hence, if I miſtake not, Mr. HOBBES was obliged, from this principle to deny all Liberty in man. But I am ſenſible I tire you.

2dly, NEITHER is this ſuppoſition of thinking's reſulting from matter organized, &c. leſs contradictory to the ſenſe and experience of mankind, touching the force and energy that the Soul has upon the mechaniſm or ſyſtem it ſelf. Certainly our idea of any thing, that ariſes from the organization of matter, implies a neceſſity in that which is ſuppoſed to reſult from it, it is under a ſort of ſubjection, and is a ſlave to that mechaniſm or organization, is made out of it. But now thinking is ſuch a vigorous active thing, that it turns upon its very author, and lords over it, commands the ſyſtem or machine it ſelf, and how will you reconcile this to organization or mechaniſm? There is ſtriking in a clock (I uſe this boldly, becauſe it hath been your own illuſtration) which is a quality or effect reſulting from the diſpoſition of its parts; now ſhould this ſtriking be able to return upon the mechaniſm, rectify, alter, ſuſpend its motions, would not this be a marvellous thing? Indeed it is ſenſeleſs to ſuppoſe it. Does not thinking do this? Is it not by this, we move the whole machine of the body from place to place, that we guide, ſuſpend, new determine many of its motions and operations? To me it is clear, if thinking reſulted from any diſpoſition of parts, quite the contrary would follow: thinking could do nothing on the body; but here, a different diſpoſition or motion of the parts of the body is produced by thinking. This is ſtrangely contrary to my ideas.

III. I proceed to the 3d ſuppoſition, Whether a power or faculty of ſelf motion, cannot be ſuperadded by God to ſome peculiar part or parts of the brain. This was originally Mr. LOCKE's, and although no perſon has a higher eſteem for that great man, yet I cannot but look on this notion as an error and ſlip in his writings.

THIS hypotheſis differs from the former in this, viz. the former, ſuppoſes matter and motion under ſome certain diſpoſition and organization of parts capable in it ſelf of producing thinking: this, ſuppoſes matter and motion in itſelf, howſoever diſpoſed and modify'd, entirely incapable of thinking; elſe there had been no need of recurring to the power of God. So that if we ſuppoſe the body of man framed exactly, as now it is, yet if this faculty of thinking were not ſuperadded by God, it would be a machine indeed, a ſyſtem, but would never think. I have two or three things to obſerve to you upon this.

1. THIS however is as unlikely to be apprehended and entertained by ſceptical men, as the old common hypotheſis, of God's introducing and ſuperadding to the ſyſtem of the body, an immaterial ſubſtance; becauſe this as equally requires the immediate application of a divine power, to ſuperadd this faculty as a diſtinct ſubſtance: and I believe, it is much the ſame with them, to ſuppoſe God ſuperadding either faculties or ſubſtances; their hopes and expectations for certain, extending farther; that thinking might ariſe from bare matter and motion, without any act of a ſuperior cauſe. But unqueſtionably you being not of that crew, which is for juſtling God out of the world; I own, the obſervation idle and impertinent.

HOWEVER, it hath been thought an objection to the ſuppoſition of two diſtinct ſubſtances in man, that it requires the conſtant and immediate application of the Deity, perpetual creations towards the propagation of mankind; and this requires ſomething like it, a conſtant and perpetual ſuperaddition of faculties to every individual man, nay if you allow (as I perceive you do) brutes to have ſenſe, here muſt be a ſuperaddition of a faculty of ſenſation to every one of them too, *to mice, and lice, and mites*, &c. which although not quite ſo abſurd as the creation of diſtinct ſubſtances, yet will I believe have ſuch a ſhare of it, as will not eaſily be digeſted. If you aſſert this ſuperadded faculty communicated from father to ſon, &c. if I not greatly miſtake, this will have likewiſe a plentiful ſhare of abſurdity.

2dly, ACCORDING to this doctrine of the ſupperaddition of faculties, as well as according to the foregoing, I intreat you to conſider, how to conceive the Soul of man immortal. You receive this principle from divine revelation. Granted. But yet you may ſo conceive of the ſoul, as to render that promiſe of immortality impoſſible to be fulfilled, as I believe, it is impoſſible, according to the preceeding Schemes. For immortal, I preſume, you apply to the ſoul itſelf, not the body; for every one ſees the body mortal and periſhing. The ſoul therefore this promiſe concerns, and by its immortality, I preſume, you underſtand that it exiſts, and acts, and thinks after the diſſolution of the body; that it doth not remain in an eſtate of inſenſibility, till the reſurrection. If this be your opinion of the immortality of the ſoul, which, I think muſt be of all ſuch, as hold it immortal, I would fain know how you can reconcile this to your principles. For it is clear, if thinking naturally ariſes from ſuch a diſpoſition of parts, &c. and death deſtroys this diſpoſition, it deſtroys the ſoul and its thinking. One of theſe two things, muſt be ſaid here. Firſt, either that God preſerves ſome parts of the body from diſſolving at death, to which thinking more eſpecially belongs. To this many things might be oppoſed, but all I ſhall ſay to it, is this: methinks it argues thoſe parts ſo very peculiar from the reſt of the body, that it looks like a diſtinct ſubſtance, and it ſeems extravagant for a man to deny the Soul a diſtinct ſubſtance, when he allows between the parts of the body ſuch a vaſt diſtinction. Or elſe, 2dly, ſomething more abſurd muſt be ſaid, viz. that God can preſerve a meer mode of a body, without the body itſelf, without its ſubject, which is worſe than *Tranſubſtantiation.*

'TIS the ſame, according to the ſuppoſition of the Soul's being a faculty of thinking's ſuperadded by God. If you ſay this power or faculty can be preſerved without ſome ſubject, it is clearly to me a ſubſtance, it being entirely contrary to our idea's, that powers and faculties ſhould exiſt of themſelves, or be ſupported in being, even by the power of God. I muſt imagine therefore, while the argument lies under this view, many things that Mr. DODWELL aſſerts to a man of your underſtanding and clearneſs of conception, muſt appear ſtrange paradoxes, becauſe you ſeem to me to truſt to Reaſon, as the principle that is to direct you in matters of belief; and I can never think you can reconcile the ſubſiſtence of Accidents and Modes, Powers and Faculties, whatſoever hard names are given to them, to your Reaſon. But this only by the by.

3dly, IT is ſuppos'd by this notion of thinking's being a faculty ſuperadded to matter by the power of God, as before premis'd, that matter in itſelf, howſoever diſpoſed, moved, and organized, would not think; and it is quite two different things, ſo to diſpoſe matter, that matter thinks, and to ſuperadd a faculty of thinking to it. In the firſt caſe, matter is made to think; in the latter, this thinking faculty thinks in it. There is as much difference between theſe, as between the ſecond and laſt hypotheſis, which indeed are your own; for how often do you diſtinguiſh to Mr. CLARKE, between thinking's being a power of matter, under ſuch or ſuch a texture, motion, &c. and a ſuperaddition of a faculty of thinking to it by God? which muſt ſuppoſe ſome diſtinction between them: and the diſtinction is this, matter may be ſo diſpoſed and moved as to think, or elſe may have a faculty of thinking ſuperadded by God. Now, I ſay, our idea of this latter caſe ſuppoſes matter not to think, but the faculty ſuperadded to think in it; for before this thinking faculty was ſupperadded, although the ſyſtem of the body were juſt as it is, the body would not think: ſo that if in thinking, this thinking faculty any ways depends upon the diſpoſition and motion of the parts of the body, or ſyſtem, it is owing to the divine appointment; and if God had ſo appointed, this thinking faculty would have thought as well in a ſtone, a clod of earth, as in an organized body, nay, without any body at all. As 'tis plain: for according to our preſent ſuppoſition, howſoever the divine power had modify'd or diſpos'd matter, thinking would never have proceeded from it. How therefore doth the bare ſyſtem concur towards thinking? Nothing at all certainly in itſelf. And if it concurs nothing at all, (I mean any otherwiſe than God hath ſo order'd it) this thinking faculty is a ſubſtance. Again, it may think as well in any other body, as a ſyſtem, or organized body. Laſtly, as well without any body at all, as with it. All which confirms that this notion is the ſame with that it pretends to differ from; and if ſome underſtand the ſame by power as others do by ſubſtance, I have nothing to do to oppoſe them, provided they do not think themſelves all the while far above others in point of knowledge and diſcovery of truth.

THUS, Sir, I have freely repreſented to you what my thoughts ſuggeſted on this ſubject,

ject, and have no other aim in the world, but a profound reſpect to you and truth, which you ſo conſtantly profeſs in your Writings. If I am under miſtakes, it will be charity in you to point them out to me, and ſhall be ever moſt gratefully receiv'd and acknowledg'd by

Your very humble Servant.

CRITICAL REMARKS

UPON

Mr. TOLAND's BOOK,

ENTITLED,

Nazarenus, or Jewiſh, Gentile, and Mahometan Chriſtianity :

CONCERNING

The Opinions of the Cerinthians, Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Nazarens.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 6. *p.* 17.

“THE Cerinthians before them, (i.e. the Baſilidians) and the Carpocratians next, (to name no more of thoſe who affirmed JESUS to have been a meer man) did believe the ſame thing, that it was not himſelf, but one of his followers very like him, that was crucified.”

THE Author has not referred us to any ancient Writer for the confirmation of the account here given; and it is apparently different from that which IRENÆUS, and after him EPIPHANIUS, have given of CERINTHUS's opinions.

IRENÆUS's words are:

Cerinthus . . . . docuit . . . fuiſſe eum Joſeph & Mariæ filium . . . & poſt Baptiſmum deſcendiſſe in eum Chriſtum, ab ea principalitate, quæ eſt ſuper omnia figura columbæ, & tunc annunciaſſe incognitum Patrem, & virtutes perfeciſſe; in fine autem revolaſſe iterum Chriſtum de Jeſu, & Jeſum paſſum eſſe, & reſurrexiſſe: Chriſtum autem impaſſibilem perſeveraſſe, exiſtentem ſpiritalem. Adv. Haereſ. lib. 1. c. 25.	Cerinthus taught that he (i. e. Jeſus) was the Son of Joſeph and Mary . . . and that after his Baptiſm Chriſt came down upon him from that principality which is above all things, in the figure of a Dove; and then gave an account of the unknown Father, and wrought Miracles; but that at laſt Chriſt flew back from Jeſus: and that Jeſus ſuffered, and roſe again; but that Chriſt continued incapable of ſuffering, being of a ſpiritual nature.

EPIPHANIUS's words are:

Ὁυτος εκηρυττεν ... ανωθεν ... εκ τȣ ανω Θεȣ	His Doctrine was . . . that after Jeſus, who ſprung

μετα το αδρυνθηναι τον Ιησουν τον εκ σπερματος Ιωσηφ και Μαριας γεγενημενον κατεληλυθεναι τον Χριστον εις αυτον, τουτεστι το Πνευμα το άγιον εν ειδει περιστερας εν τῷ Ιορδανη· και αποκαλυψαι αυτῷ, και δι᾽ αυτου τοις μετ᾽ αυτου τον Αγνωστον Πατερα· Και δια τουτο, επειδη ηλθεν ἡ δυναμις εις αυτον ανωθεν, δυναμεις επιτετεληκεναι· Και αυτου πεπονθοτος το ελθον ανωθεν αναπτηναι απο του Ιησου ανω, πεπονθοτα δε τον Ιησουν, και παλιν εγηγερμενον· Χριστον δε τον ανωθεν ελθοντα εις αυτον απαθη αναπταντα, οπερ εστι το κατελθον εν ειδει περιστερας· και ου τον Ιησουν ειναι Χριστον. *Haereſ.* 28. *Edit. Hervag. Baſil. p.* 53.

ſprung from the ſeed of Joſeph and Mary, was grown up to his full bigneſs, Chriſt came down upon him from above from the Father, i. e. the Holy Spirit, in the ſhape of a Dove in Jordan, and made known to him, and by him to thoſe that were with him, the unknown Father: and that therefore, after the power was come upon him from above, he wrought Miracles: and that when Jeſus ſuffered, that which came upon him from above left him, taking its flight upwards; but that Jeſus ſuffered and roſe again: whereas Chriſt who came upon him from above, deſcending in the form of a Dove, was not capable of ſuffering, and fled back again; and that Jeſus was not the ſame with Chriſt.

THUS far EPIPHANIUS's account agrees with IRENÆUS's; but he afterwards gives a ſomewhat different account of his opinion, which contradicts the former, and ſeems highly improbable.

His words are:

Ὁυτος δε ὁ Κηρινθος... φασκει παλιν τολμησας Χριστον πεπονθεναι και εσταυρωσθαι, μηπω δε εγηγερθαι, μελλειν δε ανιστασθαι, οταν ἡ καθολου γενηται νεκρων αναστασις· ασυστατα τοινυν ταυτα παρ᾽ εκεινοις τα τε ῥηματα και νοηματα· *ibid.* p. 54.	This ſame Cerinthus has the confidence to ſay, that Chriſt ſuffered and was crucified; but that he is not yet riſen, but that he ſhall riſe at the general Reſurrection of the dead. Therefore theſe thoughts and ſpeeches among them are inconſiſtent.

BUT it ſeems clear that EPIPHANIUS does not take care to ſpeak exactly in his account of this matter, he uſing the word CHRIST ſeveral times where he ought to uſe the word JESUS, (which was by no means proper to be done, when he was relating the opinions of one, who ſo carefully diſtinguiſhes between JESUS and CHRIST) of which careleſſneſs of expreſſion, take the following inſtances:

Εξηγειται και ουτος εκ Μαριας και εκ σπερ-	And this Cerinthus gives us to underſtand, that

ματος Ιωσηφ τον Χριστον γεγεννησθαι. *ibid.* p. 53.	that Chriſt was born of Mary and of the ſeed of Joſeph.

WHEN he proceeds to confute CERINTHUS's opinions, he has theſe words;

Ουτε γαρ εκ σπερματος Ιωσηφ ὁ Χριστος κ. τ. λ. *ibid. p.* 55.	For neither was Chriſt of the ſeed of Joſeph, &c.

NOW it is certain from IRENÆUS, that CERINTHUS did not ſay that CHRIST was deſcended from JOSEPH; and EPIPHANIUS himſelf knew it, and therefore unleſs we ſuppoſe him to put the word CHRIST inſtead of JESUS, he fights without an Adverſary in this paſſage.

WHEREFORE it ſeems reaſonable to me, to lay moſt ſtreſs upon IRENÆUS's account, which is more clear and conſiſtent than EPIPHANIUS's, and which has ſo much the advantage of it in point of antiquity; and conſequently there is no reaſon to think, that CERINTHUS diſputed the matter of fact, that JESUS, who was crucified at Jeruſalem, roſe again from the dead; and that ground of wonder is removed, which is ſuggeſted in thoſe words of this learned Author, in p. 18. "'Tis a ſtrange thing, one would think, they "ſhould differ about a fact of this nature ſo "early; and that CERINTHUS, who was con-

"temporary, a countryman, and a Chriſtian, "ſhould, with all thoſe of his ſect, deny the "Reſurrection of Chriſt from the dead." It is remov'd (I ſay) ſo far as Cerinthus is concerned in it; as depending chiefly, if not only, on Epiphanius's careleſs and confuſed way of expreſſing himſelf, or his miſtaken repreſentation of the matter. And this learned Author himſelf, in the ſame page, informs, that EPIPHANIUS confounds every thing. AUGUSTIN's words in this matter would have been more to the purpoſe, than the paſſage our Author refers to in EPIPHANIUS, had they had any good foundation. They run thus:

Cerinthiani à Cerintho ... Jeſum hominem tantummodo fuiſſe, nec reſurrexiſſe ſed reſurrecturum aſſeverantes. lib. de Hæreſ. nº 8.	The Cerinthians from Cerinthus ... maintain, that Jeſus was only a Man, and that he has not already riſen, but ſhall riſe again.

BUT Augustin probably borrow'd from Epiphanius; and his account is very imperfect, and in one part of it manifeſtly falſe, if Irenæus's be true.

FROM none of theſe accounts does it appear, that Cerinthus believed that it was not Jesus himſelf, but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucify'd; but the contrary.

AS to CARPOCRATES and his followers, IRENÆUS in his account of them, *Haereſ. lib.* I. *c.* 24. makes no mention of their denying that JESUS ſuffered, and ſaying that another ſuffered in his ſtead; but tells us, that they pretended to have an image of CHRIST made by PILATE, when JESUS was among men.

TERTULLIAN gives us this account of him:

Carpocrates . . . dicit Chriſtum . . hominem tantummodo . . . hunc apud Judæos paſſum: ſolam animam ipſius in cælo receptam, eo quod firmior & robuſtior cæteris fuerit: ex quo colligeret, tentata animarum ſalute nullas corporis reſurrectiones. Tertul de Præſcr. adv. Haeret. cap. 48.	Carpocrates . . . ſaith that Chriſt . . was a meer man . . . that he ſuffered among the Jews: that his ſoul only was received into heaven, becauſe it was more firm and ſtrong than others: from whence he inferred, that the ſalvation of Souls alone being attempted, there was no reſurrection of the body.

EPIPHANIUS ſaith nothing in his account of the CARPOCRATIANS (*Hæreſ.* 27.) about their denying that JESUS ſuffered, or aſſerting that another ſuffered in his ſtead; but mentions their having images or pictures of CHRIST made by PONTIUS PILATE. AUGUSTIN tells us, that they deny'd the Reſurrection of the Body, and worſhipped the images of JESUS and others. *Lib. de Hæreſ.*

BUT in none of theſe accounts, nor in that given by EUSEBIUS, (*Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 4. *c.* 7.) is there the leaſt hint, that CARPOCRATES ſuppoſed that JESUS did not ſuffer, but another in his ſtead. And TERTULLIAN aſſerts the contrary.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 6. *p.* 18.

" THE EBIONITES, according to EPIPHA-
" NIUS, had not the Genealogy in their Go-
" ſpel, which makes it needleſs for him to
" ſay elſewhere, that the CERINTHIANS re-
" jected it, whoſe Goſpel was the ſame.

EPIPHANIUS indeed tells us, that the EBIONITES and CERINTHIANS did both uſe the Goſpel according to MATTHEW, and that only: but he does alſo tell us, that they did not uſe that which was whole and compleat, but one that was imperfect and adulterated; and it does not appear, that MATTHEW's Goſpel, as uſed by them, was in all points the ſame; ſo that one of thoſe ſects might expunge or admit ſome paſſages which the other did not, tho as to the main body of the Goſpel, it was the ſame. Therefore tho the Genealogy were wanting in the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, yet it might be let ſtand in that of the CERINTHIANS; and then EPIPHANIUS, without being guilty of confuſion or inconſiſtency in this matter, might tell us, that CERINTHUS made uſe of this Genealogy to prove that JESUS was the ſon of JOSEPH and MARY. And that this was the caſe, according to EPIPHANIUS's repreſentation of the matter, may be inferred from the following paſſages compared together.

OF the MATTHEW of the EBIONITES, he ſays:

Εν τῷ γουν παρ' αυτοις Ευαγγελιῳ κατα Ματθαιον ονομαζομενῳ, ουχ' ὅλῳ δε πληρεστατῳ αλλα νενοθευμενω καὶ ηκρωτηριασμενω· Ἑβραϊκον δε τουτο καλουσιν εμφερεται, κ. τ. λ. *Hæreſ.* 30. p. 64.	In their Goſpel, according to Matthew, which is not compleat and perfect, but adulterated and mutilated, (they call it the Hebrew Goſpel) it is found, &c.

OF the CERINTHIANS, he ſays;

Χρωνται τῷ κατα Ματθαιον Ευαγγελιῳ απο μερους καὶ ουχ' ὅλῳ, αλλα δια την γενεαλογιαν την ενσαρκον, καὶ ταυτην μαρτυριαν φερουσιν απο του	They uſe the Goſpel according to Matthew in part, but not compleat (or not all of it) but becauſe of the Genealogy according to

Ευαγγελιου, παλιν λεγοντες ὅτι αρκετον κ. τ. λ. *Hæreſ.* 28. p. 54.

the fleſh, and they (or they alſo) bring this Teſtimony from the Goſpel, again ſaying, that it is enough, &c.

BUT in this place the conſtruction is difficult, and our learned Author ſeems from this very paſſage to infer, that the CERINTHIANS rejected the Genealogy; which does not ſeem clear to me from the words of the Author, which run as above, and ſhould (if they can) be interpreted ſo as to conſiſt with what he ſaith elſewhere of their making uſe of the Genealogy. See his words relating to that matter:

Ὁ μεν Κηρινθος και Καρποκρας τῳ αυτῳ χρωμενοι δηθεν παρ' αυτοις Ευαγγελιῳ, απο της αρχης του κατα Ματθαιον Ευαγγελιου δια της γενεαλογιας βουλονται παρισταν εκ σπερματος Ιωσηφ και Μαριας ειναι τον Χριστον· Ὁυτοι δε αλλα τινα διανοουνται, παρακοψαντες γαρ τας παρα τῳ Ματθαιῳ γενεαλογιας αρχονται την αρχην ποιεισθαι ὡς προειπον, λε-

Cerinthus and Carpocras uſing the ſame Goſpel with them (i.e. *the Ebionites*) would prove from the Genealogy in the beginning of the Goſpel according to Matthew, that Chriſt was of the ſeed of Joſeph and Mary. But theſe (i.e. the Ebionites) are of another mind. For they cut off the Genealogies in Matthew, and begin *the Goſpel,*

as

γοντες, ὅτι εγενετο εν ταις ἡμεραις Ἡρωδου κ. τ. λ. *Hæreſ.* 30. p. 65.	as I ſaid before, at thoſe words (Matth. 2. 1.) In the days of Herod, &c.

FROM whence it is plain, that EPIPHANIUS did not think that the Cerinthian and the Ebionite Goſpels were word for word the ſame; tho they went under the ſame name, and might in moſt things agree. And this he might do conſiſtently enough with what he had ſaid before of the Ebionite Goſpel, in thoſe words:

Δεχονται μεν καὶ αυτοι το κατα Ματθαιον Ευαγγελιον· Τουτο γαρ και αυτοι ὡς και ὁι κατα Κηρινθον και Μηρινθον χρωνται μονῳ· *Ibid.* p. 60.	They alſo own the Goſpel according to Matthew, for they, as alſo the Cerinthians and Merinthians, uſe this only.

BUT it is probable he never ſaw this Goſpel according to the HEBREWS (which he imagin'd to be the ſame with that according to MATTHEW) as may be inferred from the following words:

Εχουσι δὲ το κατα Ματθαιον Ευαγγελιον πληρεστατον Εβραϊστι..ουκ οιδα δὲ ει καὶ τας γενεαλογιας τας απο του Αβρααμ	They (i. e. the Nazarenes, of whom he is there giving an account) have the Goſpel according to Matthew

αχρι Χριϛȣ περιειλον. *Idem. Hæreſ. 29. ad finem.*

in Hebrew . . . But I do not know whether they have taken away the Genealogies from Abraham to Chriſt.

NAZARENUS, *cap. 9. p. 26.*

" EPIPHANIUS affirms, that the NAZARENS
" took this name to themſelves, but not that
" of JESSEANS after JESUS, nor of CHRISTI-
" ANS after CHRIST, and that all Chriſtians
" whatſoever were ſtiled NAZARENS."

THIS account leads one to imagine, that EPIPHANIUS derived the name JESSEANS from JESUS, which he did not. His words run thus;

Ουτοι γαρ ἑαυτοις ονομα επεθεντο, ȣχι Χριϛȣ, ȣτε αυτο το ονομα τȣ Ιησȣ, αλλα Ναζωραιων· Και παντες δε Χριϛιανοι Ναζωραιοι τοτε ὡσαυτως εκαλȣντο· Γεγονε δε επ' ολιγῳ χρονῳ καλεισθαι αυτȣς Ιεσσαιȣς, πριν η επι της Αντιοχειας αρχην λαβωσιν οἱ Μαθηται καλεισθαι Χριϛιανοι· Εκα-

For theſe (the Nazarens) gave themſelves the name neither of Jeſus nor of Chriſt, but of Nazarens: and all Chriſtians were then called Nazarens. But it came to paſs, that in a little time they were called Jeſſeans, before the Diſciples began to be called Chriſtians at Antioch.

λȣντο δὲ Ιεσσαιοι δια τον Ιεσσαι οιμαι, επειδηπερ ὁ Δαβιδ εξ Ιεσσαι κ. τ. λ. *Hæreſ.* 29. p. 55, 56.

tioch. They were called Jeſſeans, I ſuppoſe, from Jeſſe; for as much as David deſcended from Jeſſe, &c.

THE perſons whom he, thro miſtake, ſuppoſed to be called JESSÆANS, were the ESSÆANS mentioned by PHILO (*vid. ibid. apud Epiph. p.* 57.) who ſeem to me not to have been CHRISTIANS, nor does it appear, that they were, from PHILO's account of them, in his Book concerning the contemplative Life, but a ſort of JEWS, who lived a Monaſtic Life in Egypt.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 9. *p.* 26.

"THEY were likewiſe call'd by way of
" contempt EBIONITES or Beggars.

I know none of the Fathers that ſays EBIONITES was a name given to all Chriſtians on account of the meanneſs of their Condition.

OUR Author proceeds and ſays (*ibid.*) this
" is very evident not only from the Silence
" of IRENÆUS, but alſo from the expreſs
" Teſtimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS,
" that they were thus nicknamed becauſe of
" their mean condition; and even from the
" Hebrew word *Ebion* (אביון) itſelf, which ſig-
" nifies

" nifies *poor*, and was a moſt proper Epi-" thet for the firſt Chriſtians.

I do not ſee the force of this way of arguing; viz. IRENÆUS ſpeaking of the Ebionites, whom he repreſents as a particular ſort of Chriſtians, who held doctrines different from other Chriſtians, for which he ranked them among the Hereticks, does not mention any man of the name of EBION as their leader, nor indeed gives us any reaſon of their name; therefore not only they, but all Chriſtians whatſoever, were called Ebionites from the meanneſs of their condition.

BUT it will be proper to conſider the expreſs teſtimonies of ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS, to which we are referred, as delivered in their own words.

ORIGEN's words in the firſt place referred to, run thus: (they being part of his anſwer to CELSUS, who eſteem'd the Jews ridiculous for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo impoſed upon by JESUS, as to leave their country-laws, &c.)

Μηδὲ τουτο κατανοησας, ὅτι οἱ απο Ιουδαιων εις τον Ιησουν πιςευοντες ου καταλελοιπασι τον πατριον νομον· βιουσι γὰρ κατ' αυτον, επωνυμοι	Not conſidering that the Jews who believed in Chriſt did not leave their country-law. For they live according to it, receiving

της κατα την εκδοχην πτωχειας του νομου γεγενημενοι· Εβιων γαρ ὁ πτωχος παρα Ιουδαιοις καλειται· Και Εβιωναιοι χρηματιζουσιν οἱ απο Ιουδαιων τον Ιησουν ὡς Χριστον παραδεξαμενοι· Και ὁ Πετρος δε μεχρι πολλου φαινεται τα κατα τον Μωϋσεως νομον Ιουδαϊκα εθη τετηρηκεναι, ὡς μηδεπω απο Ιησου μαθων αναβαινειν απο του κατα το γραμμα νομου επι τον κατα το πνευμα· ὅπερ απο των Πραξεων των Αποστολων μεμαθηκαμεν, κ. τ. λ. *Contra Celſum*, lib. 2. p. 56.

ing (or being call'd by) a name agreeable to the poverty of the Law, according to their way of underſtanding it. For Ebion among the Jews ſignifies poor; and thoſe of the Jews who received Jeſus as Chriſt, are called Ebionites. And Peter for a good while appears to have obſerved the Jewiſh cuſtoms according to the law of Moſes, as having not yet learned of Jeſus to aſcend from the letter to the ſpirit of the law, as we learn from the Acts of the Apoſtles (chap. 10. 9.) &c.

IN the other paſſage referred to, he having mention'd thoſe words of our Saviour (in Matt. 15. 24.) I am not ſent but unto the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael, goes on ſaying,

Ουκ ελαμβανομεν ταυτα ὡς οἱ πτωχοι τη

We took not theſe words as thoſe do, who διανοιᾳ Εβιωναιοι της πτωχειας της διανοιας επωνυμοι· (Εβιω γαρ ὁ πτωχος παρ' Ἑβραιοις ονομαζεται·) ὡστε ὑπολαβειν επι τους σαρκινους Ισραηλιτας προηγουμενως τον Χριστον επιδεδημηκεναι· κ. τ. λ. *Idem Philocal.cap.* 1. *p.* 17.

who being of a poor underſtanding, receive the name of Ebionites from the poverty of their underſtanding; (for a poor man is called Ebion in Hebrew); ſo as to ſuppoſe that Chriſt came chiefly to the Iſraelites according to the fleſh, &c.

IN both theſe paſſages there is nothing ſaid of the Ebionites being poor or beggars as to their circumſtances in the world, or their being nick-named from thoſe circumſtances; but from their poor interpretation of the Law, which, as it was underſtood by them, anſwered the name which PAUL gave it of beggarly elements (*πτωχα στοιχεια*, Galat. 4. 9.) ſo that as far as appears from his own account, the antient Fathers ſeem rather to have taken an occaſion from theſe words of PAUL, to determine the name of Ebionites to have been properly given them, than from their outward poverty.

BUT let us ſee whether EUSEBIUS's words are more to our Author's purpoſe:

Εβιωναιους τουτους οικειως επεφημιζον οἱ πρωτοι

The ancients did properly call thoſe Ebionites, πτωχως και ταπεινως τα περι του Χριστου δογματιζοντας και δοξαζοντας· Λιτον μεν γαρ αυτον και κοινον ἡγουντο· κ. τ. λ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 27.

nites, who had a poor and mean opinion of Chriſt; for they eſteemed him to be a meer and common man, &c.

BUT he afterwards mentions one ſort of Ebionites, who did not deny that our Lord ſprung from the Virgin and the Holy Spirit; tho they did not own him to be God, the Word, and Wiſdom; and did, as the firſt, adhere to the law of MOSES, and keep the Jewiſh as well as the Chriſtian ſabbath, rejecting PAUL's Epiſtles; and goes on thus:

Ὁθεν παρα την τοιαυτην εγχειρησιν της τοιας δε λελογχασι προσηγοριας του Εβιων ονοματος την διανοιας πτωχειαν αυτων ὑποφαινοντος· Ταυτη γαρ επικλην ὁ πτωχος παρ' Ἑβραιοις ονομαζεται. *Ibid.*

Wherefore upon this account they got the name of Ebion, denoting the poorneſs of their underſtanding; for by this name do the Hebrews call a poor man (or this word ſignifies poor in Hebrew.)

FROM which words it ſeems plain, that EUSEBIUS thought they received their name, not from their circumſtances, but the nature of their opinions.

Now it appears hence, that whether this were the true reaſon of the name given the Ebionites or not, 'tis what ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS (as did alſo others of the antient Fathers who treat of this matter) give of it; and no proof of the contrary appears, unleſs you will take thoſe Ebionites own account of it, which is recited in EPIPHANIUS, to which our author refers us, p. 27. But ſo far as I have learn'd of the character of thoſe Ebionites in EPIPHANIUS, either from EPIPHANIUS himſelf or other ancient books, it does not appear clear enough to me, to induce me to lay much ſtreſs upon either their honeſty or their judgment.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 9. *p.* 27, 28.

" WHATEVER confuſion and diverſity " may be obſerved concerning them in IRENÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, EPIPHANIUS, AUGUSTIN, THEODORET and others " of thoſe they call the old Fathers, 'tis conſtantly agreed among them, that the Nazarens and Ebionites affirmed JESUS to " have been a meer man, as well by the Father's as the Mother's ſide, namely the ſon " of JOSEPH and MARY, &c. &c.

I remember not where IRENÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR and EUSEBIUS give this account of the NAZARENS, as holding all the opinions here recited in common with the EBIONITES. Nor ſhall I believe it till ſome plain paſſages be produced out of them to prove it. IRENÆUS has not entred the NAZARENS into his liſt of Heretics; neither he, nor JUSTIN MARTYR, make mention of them under that name. EUSEBIUS, as far as I remember, is ſilent concerning them; his Hiſtory furniſhes no paſſage to ſupport this account. TERTULLIAN indeed mentions the NAZARENS; but does not charge them with theſe opinions. I make it a queſtion whether any one of the Fathers before the fourth Century mention the NAZARENS as Heretics, and agreeing with the EBIONITES in their ſentiments; and if they do not, I ſee no reaſon for our Authors uſing the words EBIONITES and NAZARENS promiſcuouſly, as if they ſignify'd preciſely the ſame perſons.

EPIPHANIUS has put the NAZARENS into his liſt of Heretics. He tells us they obſerved the law, but does not poſitively ſay that they held CHRIST to be a meer man deſcended from man, as well by the father's as by the mother's ſide.

His words are:

Περι Χριϛȣ δε ȣκ οιδα ειπειν, ει ϗ αυτοι τη των προειρημενων περι Κηρινθον και Μηριν-	But as to Chriſt I cannot ſay whether they (i. e. the Nazarens) being led by the wicked-

θου μοχθηρια αχθεντες, ψιλον ανθρωπον νομιζουσιν η καθως ἡ αληθεια εχει δια Πνευματος Ἁγιου γεγεννησθαι εκ Μαριας διαβεβαιουνται. *Hæreſ.* 29. *p.* 58.

wickedneſs of the Cerinthians and Merinthians hold him to be a meer man, or aſſert that he, as the truth is, was (born of) ſprung from Mary by the Holy Spirit.

AS to that paſſage relating to the reaſon of JESUS's being own'd for the Son of God, 'tis not expreſly aſſign'd by IRENÆUS, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS or TERTULLIAN in their account of the EBIONITES as theirs; (THEODORET I have not by me, and ſo could not conſult him,) and as far as I have yet been able to find, EPIPHANIUS is the chief, if not the only author, that has given us an account of the EBIONITES aſſigning that reaſon; but it does not at all appear even from him, that the NAZARENS join'd with them in it. And according to his account, that was not the only reaſon of his being call'd the Son of God aſſign'd by them.

His words are:

Ιησουν γεγεννημενον εκ σπερματος ανδρος λεγουσι και επιλεχθεντα, και ουτω κατ' εκλογην υἱον Θεου κληθεντα απο του ανωθεν εις αυτον ἡκοντος

They ſay that Jeſus was begotten of the ſeed of a man and choſen; and ſo called the Son of God according to election from

Χριστου εν ειδει περιστερας· ου φασκουσι δε εκ Θεου Πατρος αυτον γεγεννησθαι αλλα εκτισθαι, κ. τ. λ. *Haereſ.* 30. *p.* 66.

from Chriſt's coming down upon him in the form of a Dove. But they do not ſay that he was begotten but created by God the Father, &c.

Τον Χριστον λεγουσι Προφητην της αληθειας· Και Χριστον ὑιον Θεου κατα προκοπην ϗ κατα συναφειαν αναγωγης της ανωθεν προς αυτον γεγενημενης· Τους δὲ Προφητας λεγουσι συνεσεως ειναι Προφητας ϗ ουκ αληθειας· αυτον δε μονον ειναι Προφητην ϗ ανθρωπον ϗ ὑιον θεου ϗ Χριστον ϗ ψιλον ανθρωπον, ὡς προειπομεν, δια δε την αρετην βιου ἡκοντα εις το καλεισθαι ὑιον Θεου. *ibid.* p. 67.

They ſay that Chriſt was a Prophet of truth, and Chriſt the ſon of God on account of his proficiency and intimate acquaintance with the ſublime knowledge that came to him from above. But they ſay the Prophets are Prophets of underſtanding but not truth; and that he alone is a Prophet, and man, and ſon of God, and Chriſt, and a meer man as we ſaid before, but that by a virtuous life he came to be called the ſon of God.

SO that if I underſtand him right, EPIPHANIUS ſuggeſts three particulars upon account of which according to the Ebionites he was called the Son of God, viz. his being choſen and marked out by God by the deſcent of CHRIST in form of a Dove; his being favoured with a deep knowledge of divine myſteries, and his virtuous life; unleſs you rather ſuppoſe the two firſt to fall into one.

IN the Goſpel according to the Hebrews which was uſed by the Ebionites, the Holy Spirit is called by our Saviour, his Mother, as appears from divers paſſages in ORIGEN and JEROM, as particularly that where ORIGEN has theſe words:

Εαν δε προσιεται τις το καθ' Ἑβραιους Ευαγγελιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτηρ φησι· Αρτι ἐλαβε με ἡ μητηρ μου, το ἁγιον πνευμα ἐν μια των τριχων μου, καὶ ἀπενεγκε με εις το ορος το μεγα Θαβορ κ. τ. λ. *Com. in Joann. Tom.* 2. *p.* 58. *D.*

But if any one admit the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour himſelf ſaith, my Mother the Holy Spirit took me a little while ago by one of the hairs of my head, and carried me to the great mountain Tabor, &c.

BUT on what account the Holy Spirit was called his Mother, does not appear. By that deſcent he was endued with wiſdom and knowledge, if JEROM's conjecture be right, in his Commentary on Eſai. 11. 2. On occaſion of thoſe words, "the ſpirit of wiſdom and "the ſpirit of underſtanding", he there cites a fragment of the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarens, which I ſhall add here becauſe the Spirit calls him there his firſt begotten:

In Evangelio, cujus ſupra fecimus mentionem, hæc ſcripta reperimus: Factum eſt autem cum aſcendiſſet Dominus de aqua, deſcendit fons omnis ſpiritus ſancti, & requievit ſuper eum & dixit illi: Fili mi, in omnibus Prophetis expectabam te ut venires & requieſcerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in ſempiternum.

In the Goſpel abovementioned (i. e. the Hebrew one) we find theſe things written: But it came to paſs that when the Lord came up from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down, and reſted upon him, and ſaid to him, In all the Prophets I look'd for thee that thou mighteſt come, and I might reſt upon thee. Thou art my reſt, thou art my firſt born Son, who reigneſt for ever.

WHERE AUGUSTIN makes the Ebionites and Nazarens agree in all the particulars mentioned by our Author, I know not. In his Book of Hereſies he mentions them as two ſorts of Heretics, and tells us the Nazarens own CHRIST to be the Son of God, but does not ſay on what account; and that the Ebionites ſay CHRIST was only a man.

AS to the paſſage referred to in EUSEBIUS by our Author, to prove that he made the Nazarens and Ebionites agree in all the particulars here recited, I find mention only of the Ebionites there; and he does not tell us that they affirmed that JESUS merited to be peculiarly call'd the Son of God, by reaſon of his moſt virtuous life, but only that he was juſtify'd on the account of it.

His words are:

Λιτον αυτον ϗ κοινον ἡγȣντο, κατα προκοπην ηθȣς αυτον μονον ανθρωπον δεδικαιωμενον. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 3. *c.* 27.	They were of opinion that he was a meer and common man, but that being only a man he was juſtify'd upon account of the excellency of his morals.

OUR Author himſelf obſerves, that in EUSEBIUS's time the Ebionites were divided in their opinion about the parents of CHRIST.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 9. *p.* 28.

" EUSEBIUS ſaith that ſome few of them (the Author had been ſpeaking of the Ebionites and Nazarens, whom he calls

Jewiſh Chriſtians) " in his time, that is, the " fourth Century, believed like the Gentile " Chriſtians, the mother of CHRIST to have " been a Virgin; and that he was conceived " by virtue of the Spirit of God, tho' ſtill but " a meer man, &c.

THE placing thoſe words, *believed like the Gentile Chriſtians*, after this manner in this ſentence, might induce one to believe that they were made uſe of by EUSEBIUS himſelf, which they are not; for

His words are:

Αλλοι δε παρα τουτους της αυτης οντες προσηγορειας την μεν των ειρημενων εκτοπον διεδιδρασκον ατοπιαν, εκ παρθενου ϗ του ἁγιου Πνευματος μη αρνουμενοι γεγονεναι τον Κυριον· ου μεν εθ' ὁμοιως ϗ οὑτοι προϋπαρχειν αυτον Θεον λογον οντα ϗ Σοφιαν ὁμολογουντες τη των προτερων περιετρεποντο δυσσεβεια. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 3. *cap.* 27.

There were others beſides theſe who went under the ſame name, who quitted the abſurdity of thoſe before-mentioned, not denying the Lord to be ſprung from the Virgin and the Holy Spirit. But theſe like the others not owning that he had any exiſtence before, as being God, the Word, and Wiſdom, were involved in the impiety of the firſt.

WHERE it is proper to obſerve, that he ſpeaks not here of the Nazarens but the Ebionites; that he does not ſay whether there were ſome few or many of this party of the Ebionites, nor makes any mention of the Gentile Chriſtians; nor ſo much as hint to us any thing that ſhould perſuade us that it was an opinion peculiar to Gentile Chriſtians before his time, to think that the mother of our Lord was a Virgin.

ADD to this, that theſe two different ſorts of Ebionites were obſerved before EUSEBIUS's time by ORIGEN;

whoſe words are:

Ὁυτοι δ' εισιν οἱ διττοι Εβιωναιοι οἱ, ἠ τοι εκ παρθενου ὁμολογουντες ὁμοιως ἡμιν τον Ιησουν, ἠ ουχ' ουτω γεγεννησθαι αλλ' ὡς τους λοιπους ανθρωπους. *lib.* 5. *contra Celſ. p.* 272.

Theſe are the two ſorts of Ebionites, being, either ſuch as with us acknowledge Jeſus to be born of a Virgin, or ſuch as pretend, that he was not born ſo, but as other men.

THESE things conſidered, it muſt be own'd, that the account of our Author would have been more ſatisfactory, if he had diſtinctly told us which of the Fathers aſſerted one part and which the other, of thoſe things he has put together in page 27, at the end of the page, and at the beginning of 28: it not appearing from the paſſages he refers to, that all thoſe he mentions agreed in all the particulars.

NAZARENUS, *c.* 12. *p.* 40, 41.

"NO other ſcheme can reconcile Chri-
"ſtianity and the promiſes of everlaſting du-
"ration made in favour of the Jewiſh Law:
"which are poorly, I will not ſay ſophiſtical-
"ly, evaded by making the words *eternal*,
"*everlaſting*, *for ever*, *perpetual*, and *through-*
"*out all generations*, to mean only a great
"while; that the way of CHRIST's *accom-*
"*pliſhing the law*, was to aboliſh it; and that
"*till heaven and earth ſhall paſs*, ſignify'd till
"the reign of TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

WITH reſpect to this paſſage one can hardly forbear obſerving that our Author's ſcheme may be reaſon'd againſt, by arguments drawn from theſe phraſes, as well as that of thoſe whom he oppoſes. For according to the Ebionite ſcheme JESUS came into the world to aboliſh ſacrifices, and conſequently that part of the Levitical Law relating to them is not now to be obſerved, as appears from a paſſage cited by EPIPHANIUS, out of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, which was in uſe among the Ebionites.

His

His words are:

Ελθοντα ϗ ὑφηγησαμενον ὡς το παρ᾽ αυτοις Ευαγγελιον καλȣμενον περιεχει, ὁτι ηλθον καταλυσαι τας θυσιας· ϗ εαν μη παυσησθε τȣ θυειν, ȣ παυσεται αφ᾽ ὑμων ἡ οργη· *Hæreſ.* 30. *p.* 66.

But they ſay that he came and declared, as it is ſaid, in what is called the Goſpel by them, that I came to aboliſh ſacrifices, and if you ceaſe not from ſacrificing, wrath ſhall not ceaſe from you.

SO that one part of the buſineſs of JESUS upon earth was to declare thoſe who continued to ſacrifice to be under wrath. What then is become of the ſtatutes made in favour of the eternal duration of the Jewiſh laws about Sacrifices? With reſpect to the orders given about the Paſchal Lamb, the law ſays, "ye ſhall obſerve this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy ſons for ever", *Exod.* 12. 24. And again ſome parts of the ſacrifices of the peace-offerings are given to AARON the Prieſt and to his ſons by a ſtatute for ever, *Levit.* 7. 34. So with reſpect to what the High-prieſt ſhould do on the day of atonement, 'tis ſaid "this ſhall be an everlaſting "ſtatute unto you", *Levit.* 16. 34. and divers other ſuch paſſages there are. For thoſe phraſes cited by our Author as favouring the perpetual duration of MOSES's law, are as commonly made uſe of in reference to ſacrifices as to any ordinances whatſoever in the law; when yet our Author owns the law to be changed with reſpect to theſe. Vid. *Nazaren.* p. 63, 64.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 16. *p.* 62.

" *Works* there (i. e. in JAMES's Epiſtle) " ſignify the Levitical Law, as *Faith* is put for " Chriſtianity;" and afterwards " *Works* are " interpreted to ſignify the Levitical rites.

OUR Author's ſenſe of the word *Works* is not countenanced by the examples here made uſe of to prove JAMES's doctrine. " Was not (ſaith " JAMES) ABRAHAM juſtify'd by Works? cap. 2. " 21. and was not RAHAB juſtify'd by Works?" ver. 25: when yet ABRAHAM was dead ſome hundreds of years before the Eſtabliſhment of the Levitical Law, and RAHAB was a Canaaniteſs, and not obliged to the obſervation of it. And the *Works* by which they were ſaid to be juſtify'd, were neither of them ſuch as were bound upon them by that Law. So that according to this interpretation, JAMES inſiſts upon it, that the Jews were to be juſtify'd by the Works of the Levitical Law, becauſe their Father ABRAHAM and another perſon were juſtify'd without them.

WHEN I conſider the titles given by JAMES to the Law, the obſervance of which is recommended as ſo neceſſary, which is called " the ingrafted word which is able to ſave

" ſouls in cap. 1. 21; and the perfect law of " liberty ver. 25; and the inſtances of obedience mention'd in cap. 2. as alſo the examples of obedience before mentioned, I cannot perſuade my ſelf that by *Works* he only means the Levitical rites, if he do at all directly mean them. It ſeems more agreeable to the tenor of his diſcourſe to ſuppoſe that he means by *Faith* a firm and well grounded perſuaſion of the certainty of any truth made known to us by God, and particularly of the principles of the Chriſtian Religion; and by *Works* ſuch kind of actions as thoſe principles are deſign'd and fitted to put us upon. And his deſign is plainly to teach us that if we entertain in our minds the beſt principles in the world; as particularly thoſe which the doctrine of Chriſt teaches us, yet if we do not act up to them we muſt expect to be condemned. And that of Chriſtians he and he only who acts according to theſe his principles ſhall be accepted, acquitted, and pronounced righteous by God when his caſe comes to be try'd.

NAZARENUS, *cap.* 16. *p.* 63.

" THAT *the Law was our ſchoolmaſter* " *to bring us unto Chriſt* .... is a phraſe to " be underſtood only of us Gentiles.

THIS I can by no means grant, when I conſider the words immediately preceding and following thoſe here cited. The words preceding (Gal. 3. 23.) are, *Before Faith* (or *the Faith*) *came, we were kept under the Law ſhut up unto the Faith, which ſhould afterwards be revealed.* So that the law was the Schoolmaſter only of thoſe that were under it, which very perſons were freed from this Schoolmaſter by the coming of the Faith; as the words following inform us, ver. 25. *But after that* (the) *Faith is come, we are no longer under a ſchoolmaſter.* Unleſs therefore we will ſuppoſe the Gentiles to have been under the Levitical Law before the Goſpel was publiſhed, the words ver. 24. cannot reaſonably be apply'd to them, eſpecially not ſo as to exclude the Jews, who are own'd by all to have been under the law before that time.

ANNOTATIUNCULÆ
SUBITANEÆ
AD
LIBRUM
DE
Chriſtianiſmo Myſteriis carente:

Conſcriptæ 8 Auguſti 1701 *.

LIBER Anglicana lingua ſcriptus, ſæpe auditus mihi, nondum viſus, *de Chriſtianiſmo myſteriis carente*, cum nuper in manus meas veniſſet; non potui temperare mihi quin perlegerem ſtatim, & more meo aliquas Notatiunculas in chartam conjicerem inter legendum, quod non rarò facio cum Libri occurrunt ſingulares. Hunc certè ingeniosè ſcriptum eſſe fateri oportet. Et, cùm caritas non ſit ſuſpicax, ego mihi libenter perſuadeo, ſcopum Autoris, viri doctrina & ingenio non vulgari prædìti, & ut arbitror bene animati, fuiſſe ut homines à Theologia theoretica ad practicam, à diſputationibus circa perſonam Chriſti ad ſtudium imitandæ ejus vitæ revocaret; etſi via, qua ad hunc ſcopum ivit, non ſatis recta aut plana ubiq; videatur. Equidem Theologiam vere Chriſtianam, eſſe practicam conſtat, & primarium Chriſti ſcopum fuiſſe potiùs inſpirare voluntati ſanctitatem, quam intellectui immittere notiones veritatum arcanarum.

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* The celebrated Mr. Leibniz is the Author of theſe Remarks.

NON tamen ideò negari debet, per Chriſtum nobis revelatas fuiſſe divinas doctrinas quas ratio perſpicere non poteſt, & cavenda mihi videntur non tantùm quæ ſectarias opiniones Theologorum fovent, ſed etiam multo magis quæ Clerum Reformatum plebi odioſum reddere aut in contemtum adducere poſſunt; quòd genus ſectæ omnium periculoſiſſimum foret, nam turbas dare poſſet, quibus alimenta ſubminiſtrare alieniſſimum eſſe arbitror à mente autoris, qui ut virum probum decet ſuas cogitationes ad bonum reipublicæ dirigere velle profitetur. Certè errores & abuſus qui irrepsêre in Eccleſiam, non tam cleri artibus, quàm temporum vitio tribui debent; ipſamq; autoritatem Pontificum nimiam, paulatim enatam conſtat circumſtantiis faventibus, & caſu interveniente ut ſolet. Præterea illis temporibus quibus ſolus ſapiebat clerus, cæteri verò omnes ingenui homines militares erant; non abſurdum erat, militare imperium ſapientum, id eſt cleri, autoritate temperari.

TITULUS ipſe Libri mihi videtur longiùs ire quàm par eſt, nam ita habet: *Chriſtianiſmus myſterio carens, hoc eſt Tractatus oſtendens nihil ineſſe Evangelio contrarium rationi, nihil ſupra rationem; atq; adeo nullam Chriſtianam doctrinam myſterii nomine proprie loquendo appellari poſſe.* Equidem omnes fatentur nihil ineſſe debere Theologiæ Chriſtianæ quod ſit contrarium rationi, id eſt abſurdum; ſed eidem nihil ineſſe quod ſit ſupra rationem, id eſt, quod ratione noſtra comprehendi nequeat, non video qua probabilitate dici poſſit; cum ipſa divina natura, quæ infinita eſt, neceſſario ſit incomprehenſibilis: quemadmodum & in omnibus ſubſtantiis aliquid ineſt infiniti, unde fit ut à nobis perfecte intelligi poſſint ſolæ notiones incompletæ, quales ſunt numerorum, figurarum, aliorumq; hujuſmodi modorum à rebus animo abſtractorum. Fateor eſſe nobis, ut optimè obſervat autor, diſtinctam quandam infiniti (per ſe ſcilicet ſeu abſoluti) notionem; ſed non eſt nobis finito intellectu præditis, infinitarum varietatum diſtincta conſideratio, qua tamen in rebus præſertim divinis comprehendendis perſæpe opus foret. Itaq; miror initio ſtatim Libri, in præliminari formatione ſtatus controverſiæ, improbari eos qui dicunt: “adorandum eſſe “quod nequit comprehendi;” quo tamen pronuntiato nihil mihi videtur eſſe certius: niſi ſcilicet Comprehenſionem, ut alicubi Cl. Autor facit, (*Sect.* 3. *cap.* 2.) ita interpretemur, ut nihil aliud ſignificet quàm cognitionem; qui tamen ſenſus non eſt uſitatus, nec proinde in populari uſu facile adhibendus.

AD SECTIONEM I.

VENIO ad Libri contenta primaria, & Sectionem quidem primam *de Ratione*; ubi *Capite* 1. autor ingenioſus ait *eſſe in nobis Facultates formandi ideas ac perceptiones rerum, affirmandiq; aut negandi prout eas inter ſe convenire aut diſſidere perſpicimus; atq; inde amandi ac deſiderandi bona, aut contra odio habendi fugiendiq; mala.* Et legitimum harum facultatum uſum eſſe *Senſum communem* aut *Rationem in univerſum.* Hanc ego Definitionem libenter concedam, quia bonum ſenſum admittit. Tametſi aliquid in ea deſiderari poſſit, dum non explicat in quo rectus ille uſus conſiſtat. Quod tamen hoc loco facilius excuſari poteſt, quia ſcopus autoris non eſt hæc tractare ex profeſſo. *Ideam* definit *immediatum cogitationis objectum,* quod ab aliorum quoq; ſenſu non abhorret.

Capite 2. tractat in quo Ratio conſiſtat; aitq; *Cognitionem* eſſe *perceptionem conſenſus aut diſſenſus idearum:* in quo nonnihil hæreo. Videtur enim mihi id verum quidem eſſe in noſtra cognitione rationali, nempe ex ideis ſive definitionibus deducta, quam dicimus eſſe à priori, ſed non in cognitione à poſteriori ſumta, ſive experimentali; ubi ſæpe nullas diſtinctas ideas habemus, neq; adeò conſenſum aut diſſenſum earum percipimus: ita (ut exemplo utar) experimento quidem cognoſcimus acida ſirupum violarum rubro colore tingere, ſed nullam perſpicimus conſenſionem idearum, quas acidi & rubri & violacei diſtinctas nondum habemus. Solius DEI eſt omnia deducere ex mentis ſuæ ideis. Quæ adduntur de duplici *cognitione* (rationali ſcilicet) *immediata* & *mediata*, laudo; etſi altius penetrandum putem, ut res ſufficienter explicetur, quod fateor hujus loci non eſſe.

Caput. 3. ſine Annotatione tranſmittere poſſe mihi videor.

IN *Capite* 4. admittere poſſum *fundamentum perſuaſionis eſſe evidentiam*, modo abuſus hujus doctrinæ abſit. Etſi enim id de quo perſuaſi ſumus non ſemper ſit evidens; debet tamen evidentia intervenire in modo perſuadendi. Verbi gratia, evidens eſſe nobis debet autoritas eorum quibus credimus aliquid contigiſſe, quod tamen quomodo factum ſit non ſemper perſpicimus. Ita qui ignorant quomodo Hydropota intra breve temporis ſpatium ex ore magnam copiam lactis, atramenti, cereviſiæ, vini rhenani, vini ex tellina valle, ſpiritus vini, aliorumq; liquorum in conſpectu virorum perſpicacium, & de propinquo intentorum emittere potuerit; rem tamen fac-tam eſſe, non tam mihi (qui bis Hanoveræ vidi) quam tot aliis mecum teſtibus oculatis credere poſſunt, eorumque errorem à ſcriptoribus nonnullis temere defenſum deponere, quibus perſuaſum eſt non veros eſſe illos liquores ſed ſimulatos tantùm & in ſpeciem neſcio quibus eſſentiis tinctos. Et hæc *Evidentia* in rebus fidei divinæ ineſt iis argumentis, quæ vulgò multi Theologi (minùs eleganter quidem) vocant *motiva credibilitatis.* Sed explicandum erat *Evidentiæ criterion:* multos enim vidi ad Evidentiam provocare ubi nulla erat. Itaque in Schediaſmate quodam Actis Lipſienſibus inſerto *De cognitione, veritate, & ideis*, pro parte ſupplere conatus ſum hunc defectum ſcriptoribus communem.

AD SECTIONEM II.

CLARISSIMUS Autor *agnoſcit neminem Theologorum quos norit, aliquid credendum docere, quod fateatur rationi contrarium; à pleriſque tamen doceri, omnino fieri poſſe ut fidei dogma rationi contrarium ſaltem videatur:* quod ipſe impugnat *Capite* 1. ubi obiter annoto Evangelicis, quos (invitis ipſorum præſtantiſſimis non paucis) *Lutheranos* appellat, non recte imputari *impanationem*, nec ab omnibus ipſorum Theologis admitti *ubiquitatem*, vel potius omni-præſentiam carnis Chriſti. Rectè verò culpari *Socinianos* quod *creatum quendam Deum introducunt divini honoris capacem.*

QUOD attinet *communes notiones* quibus congruunt aut non congruunt divinæ veritates, jamdudum diſtinxere prudentes Theologi inter eas quæ ſunt metaphyſicæ neceſſitatis, ubi contrarium implicat contradictionem, à quibus diſſidere nulla divina veritas poteſt; & inter veritates phyſicas, quæ hauſtæ ſunt ab experientia atque ut ſic dicam ex conſuetudine mundi, cui derogare Deum nihil prohibet, cùm etiam in naturalibus tale quid contingere ſæpe videamus, ut ipſe Cl. Autor infra agnoſcit. Talis veritas eſt, maſſam ferream ſua natura in aqua deſcendere; quod tamen cùm non fiat, quoties ea arte in cavum lebetem formatur, quis dubitat multo magis Deo modos præſto eſſe idem efficiendi, dum naturæ arcana quadam ratione aſſiſtit?

SED hoc miſſo, inſpiciamus an hîc res eodem redeat, ut ait Dn. Autor, *ſive contradictio ſit vera ſive apparens.* Id vero ego mihi perſuadere non poſſum. Equidem fateor, nobis regulariter ſequenda eſſe quæ apparent; & verorum locum tenere; ſed quoties plura apparent inter ſe contraria regulam neceſſario ceſſare; & expendendum eſſe quænam veriſimilitudo magis ſit ſequenda. Ubi non tantùm ſpectandum eſt quæ ſententia ſit probabilior, ſed & quæ ſit tutior. Veluti ſi major mihi probabilitas lucrandi quam perdendi proponatur;

ſed lucrum ſit futurum exiguum, damnum verò ingens; ſitque multo major ratio damni ad lucrum quam ſpei ad metum, rectiùs propoſita conditione abſtinebo. Ita ſi verba Domini faveant uni ſententiæ, & rerum ſpecies alteri, & verbo Domini potius ſtando rebus Domini nullum periculum creetur, à verbis autem recedendo periculum accerſatur mihi, profectò rectiùs verbis inhærebo neque recedam ἀπὸ τοῦ. ῥητοῦ prætextu τῆς διανοίας. Idque tanto magis verum eſt, quanto Dominus prudentior eſt & major; cum etiam in re militari miles non impune ſit laturus, qui verba mandati ab imperatore ſuo profecti ſine graviſſima cauſa deſerit. Cæterum *apparentem contradictionem* hic intelligo eam quæ re non ſatis diſcuſſa offertur; veluti ſi quis inſpectis obiter tabulis rationum ab agente in rebus redditarum, videatur ſibi errorem videre aut in calculo, aut in materia calculi: ille huic judicio ſuo fidere non debet, niſi examine ut par eſt iterato & diſcuſſione abſoluta confirmetur; cum nihil in rebus impeditis ſit magis lubricum quam judicium promtum.

QUOD verò hoc loco dicitur *neminem credere poſſe niſi quod animo concipit*, verum eſt, ſi non nimium extendatur. Verba ſenſum aliquem habere oportet, ſed non ſemper neceſſarios eſſe conceptus diſtinctos, nedum adæquatos, experimenta oſtendunt (qualium & ſupra memini) quibus fidem adhibemus tametſi de multis ſenſuum objectis imme-

diatis

diatis, (veluti coloribus, odoribuſque) diſtinctos conceptus non habeamus. Etiam in metaphyſicis Cl. Autor noſter cum pleriſque aliis loquitur de *ſubſtantia* tanquam ſuſtentaculo, de *cauſa*, aliiſque multis; etſi diſtinctæ ſatis notiones vulgo fortaſſe deſint. Immo oſtendi alibi, eſſe quædam in ipſis primis Geometriæ notionibus non ſatis hactenus à Geometris explicata. Et quanto quiſque in meditationibus verſatior eſt, tanto magis hos defectus agnoſcit, animumque ad eam præſertim in ſacris modeſtiam componit, quæ neque exigat nimium neque polliceatur.

Cap. 2. dicitur *Revelationem eſſe tantum modum informationis, non argumentum aſſenſum extorquens*; cujus pronuntiati ſi is eſt ſenſus, Revelationem non plus habere autoritatis quam magiſtrum cui credimus tantum quia probat, aut quia rem per diſtinctos conceptus explicat, ſtare nequit. Nam Revelator non tantum habet perſonam magiſtri aut docentis, ſed & teſtis imò judicis irrefragabilis; poſtquam ſcilicet conſtat, quod revelans ſit ipſe Deus. Itaque etiam in humanis non ſemper opus eſt *evidentia in rebus* (quam Cl. Autor requirit) modo ſit *in perſonis*, ut de earum fide conſtet. Secus eſt in doctrinis quæ ratione conſtant, ut ſi magiſter me doceat Geometriam; ibi enim locum habet, quod Cl. Autor paulo generaliùs pronuntiare videtur, *fundamentum perſuaſionis meæ eſſe non autoritatem dicentis, ſed claritatem conceptionis.*

tionis. Illud utique veriſſimum eſt, nihil eſſe in divina revelatione quod non ſit dignum Deo, qui ſumma ratio eſt: ſed ſcimus tamen etiam in oeconomia naturæ multa nobis viſa eſſe abſurda, ob noſtram ignorantiam, quia in vero centro collocati non ſumus, unde rerum pulchritudo ſpectari debet. Ita Alphonſus Rex, Aſtronomiæ ſtudio inſignis, ridicule credebat melioris Syſtematis ideam ſe daturum fuiſſe, ſi à creatore in conſilium adhibitus fuiſſet. Cum tamen nunc, ex quo nos animo in ſolem (quem deprehenſum eſt centrum eſſe hujus ſyſtematis) transferre didicimus; manifeſtum ſit pulcherrimam eſſe rerum conſtitutionem.

Cap. 3. concedit Cl. Autor, ut par eſt, *miracula à Chriſto fuiſſe edita:* ſed hoc ipſo, ſi quid judico, etiam concedit eſſe aliquid credendum in Chriſtiana Religione quod ſit ſupra rationem noſtram: quid aliud enim miracula ſunt quàm operationes quæ ex naturæ creatæ legibus quas intellectus creatus quantæcunque capacitatis percipere poſſet, derivari non poſſunt. De cætero bene diſputat contra eos, qui Evangeliſtas & Apoſtolos male & obſcure ſcripſiſſe putant de rebus quas ſcire oportet.

Cap. 4. reſpondet objicientibus *corruptam eſſe rationem noſtram.* Hic mihi videtur rurſus non male diſputare dum diſtinguit inter ipſam *Rationem* & *pravum* facultatis bonæ *uſum*, uti diſtinguimus inter artem & artificem. Interim non auſim dicere quod habetur §. 31. *omnes noſtras cogitationes plane liberas eſſe*; arbitror enim in quantum noſtra natura infirma vel corrupta eſt, in tantum nos ſervituti obnoxios eſſe. Et cùm mox diſputat pro omnimoda *arbitrii libertate*, vereor ne longius procedat quam res patiatur aut ſit neceſſe. Sed ea quæſtio hujus loci non eſt.

AD SECTIONEM III.

Cap. 1. Autor oſtendit *Myſteria* apud Ethnicos ſignificaſſe *ritus arcanos in quibus profani aut non initiati admitti non debebant*; adeoq; *myſterium* olim fuiſſe *rem non intellectam quidem, ſed valde tamen intelligibilem ſi revelaretur.* Hoc non illibenter admiſero. Gentilium enim Religio non tam in dogmatibus quam ceremoniis conſiſtebat, quæ quiſq; pro lubitu interpretabatur: unde fiebat etiam ut inter ipſos de religionibus non certaretur.

Cap. 2. obſervat *non ſtatim Myſteria eſſe, quorum adæquatas ideas aut omnium ſimul proprietatum notitiam non habemus.* In quo ipſi libens itidem aſſentior, alioqui enim etiam circuli & reliquæ figuræ forent myſteria. Sed illud jam quæritur utrum aliqua ſint Myſteria in natura? ubi aio ſi *Myſterii* voce intelligatur quicquid præſentem rationem noſtram ſuperat, innumera etiam phyſica myſteria deprehendi. Ita ſi quæratur an aquæ interior cognitio ſit ſupra noſtram rationem, reſpondeo eſſe ſupra præſentem: nondum enim à quoquam ejus texturam ſatis expoſitam puto; ſed tamen non deſpero poſſe aliquando explicationem dari quæ phænomenis ſatisfaciat. Sunt etiam multa ſupra rationem humanam poſita non noſtram tantum, ſed & poſterorum, ſeu qualis ſcilicet non nunc tantum exiſtit, ſed & unquam erit in hac vita quam in terris degimus; etſi fieri omnino poſſit, ut ab aliqua creatura nobiliore intelligantur, & nobis etiam in nobiliorem ſtatum tranſlatis aliquando ſint futura intelligibilia.

SED ſi quis *Myſterium* appellet quicquid eſt ſupra omnem rationem creatam; auſim dicere, nulla quidem phænomena naturalia ſupra rationem eſſe, ſed ipſas tamen ſubſtantiarum ſingularium comprehenſiones creato intellectui eſſe impoſſibiles quia infinitum involvunt. Unde fit ut rerum univerſi perfecta ratio reddi non poſſit. Et talia nihil prohibet eſſe etiam dogmata quædam divinitus revelata, ut nulla rationis vi ſatis explicari queant etſi animo utcunq; attingantur atq; etiam à contradictionis accuſatione rite vindicari poſſint. Porro *comprehenſionem* appello non tantum cùm diſtinctæ interveniunt ideæ, ſed & cùm adæquatæ; id eſt cùm non tantum propoſiti termini habetur definitio ſive reſolutio, ſed & quivis terminus eam ingrediens rurſus reſolutus habetur uſque ad primitivos; ut in numeris experimur.

Cap. 3. oſtendere aggreditur etiam in Scriptura ſacra & libris primæ antiquitatis *Myſterium* vulgari Theologorum ſenſu incognitum eſſe. Adducit tamen ipſe locum Pauli 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10. ubi dicitur *nec oculum vidiſſe, neq; aurem audiſſe, nec in hominis cor intraſſe, quæ Deus amicis ſuis paravit.* Ubi videtur aliquid intelligi quod nobis ignotum eſt, non ideò tantùm quia nobis non eſt dictum, ſed etiam quia licet nobis diceretur, percipi non poſſet niſi exaltarentur ſenſus noſtri & veniremus in rem præſentem per altiorem quandam experientiam: prorſus ut cæcus de coloribus judicare non poteſt, etſi ipſi colorum doctrina exponatur, niſi oculi ejus aperiantur.

CÆTERUM illud bene notat Autor noſter, multa ignota fuiſſe Philoſophis & nuda ratione obtineri non potuiſſe, non quod eſſent incomprehenſibilia, ſed quod penderent à re facti nonniſi per divinam Revelationem cognoſcenda. In exemplum affert doctrinam de *lapſu Adami*, quæ difficultates tollat de cauſa peccati, quibus Philoſophi exercebantur.

CÆTERUM quod ait §. 30. *nihil magni præſtari ſi reveletur veritas incomprehenſibilis*, non puto ac ſemper jure dici. Sic in naturalibus quoq; detectio acus magneticæ res magna eſt eritq; etſi operationes ejus perpetuò nobis inexplicatæ manerent. Eodem modo in Theologia veritas cujus ratio reddi nequit magni tamen ad ſalutis oeconomiam momenti eſſe poteſt.

IN 1 Tim. iii. 16. videtur *Myſterium* etiam aliquid amplius ſignificare quam *rem ignotam quidem antea, ſed revelatione facta facilem intellectu.* Nam cùm dicitur *Deum manifeſtatum in carne, viſum Angelis, receptum in gloria,* apparet intelligi quæ naturam creatam, vireſq; rationis tranſcendunt.

OBITER annoto quod ait Dn. Autor §. 39. *veteres in pueritia mundi vixiſſe, & nos adultiore ejus ætate vivere, adeoq; præſentia potius vetera eſſe dicenda*; veriſſimum equidem eſſe, & autoritati antiquorum detrahere in iis quæ ſunt ſcientiæ & experientiæ, ſed non in iis quæ ſunt hiſtoriæ ac traditionis. Manifeſtum enim eſt remotiores à fonte narrationes vel voce vel ſcripto propagatas fieri indies imperfectiores.

Cap. 4. Reſpondet objectionibus à locis ſcripturæ, item à natura fidei petitis, quibus nunc ut inhæream neceſſe non puto. Tantum annoto quod dicitur §. 54. *Fidem eſſe ex auditu, ſed ſi quæ audiamus non intelligantur inanem imo nullam fidem fore;* eſſe quidem veriſſimum: ſed multum tamen differre intellectum verborum & comprehenſionem rei, ut etiam in naturalibus patet. Sæpe enim vel ideæ quas habemus, vel methodus ex ideis ratiocinandi quam habemus, non ſufficiunt ad connexionem ſubjecti & prædicati intelligendam etſi aliquam ſubjecti & prædicati notitiam præſtent. Etiam in Geometria non eſt cujusvis, theoremata demonſtrare figurarum diſtinctè licet cognitarum, quamvis ea theoremata jam ab aliis ſint inventa ac communicata.

Cap. 5. Cl. Autor ſibi ipſi prudenter objicit, quod ſupra objeceram, *Miracula eſſe ſupra rationem.* Definitio *Miraculi* quam exhibet ſic ſatis ni fallor convenit communi doctrinæ Theologorum, ut ſcilicet ſint *ſuper leges naturæ ordinariaſq; operationes.* Recte tamen agnoſcit eſſe *poſſibilia & intelligibilia.* Sed eo modo etiam Myſteria Theologis poſſibilia & intelligibilia ſunt. Quis enim dubitat quin abſit contradictio & verba intelligantur, etſi modus explicandi utrobiq; rationis noſtræ vim tranſcendat. Itaque Vir Cl. objectioni mihi ſatis feciſſe non omnino videtur. Nihil refert, quod *myſteria* ſunt *doctrinæ*, & *miracula* ſunt *hiſtoriæ*; nam miracula ſunt ut ſic dicam myſteria tranſitoria, & myſteria aliqua habent quodam modo miraculi durabilis naturam.

QUÆ *Cap.* 6. dicuntur de *introductione Myſteriorum*, & *origine Ceremoniarum*, brevitatis cauſa non perſequor, de re ipſa ſatis feciſſe contentus; nam quæ ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam pertinent latiùs diffunduntur, quam ut brevibus tractari poſſint, neq; neceſſaria ſunt ad ſcopum noſtrum.

IN *Concluſione* ſperare jubet Cl. Autor *explicationem intelligibilem doctrinæ Novi Teſtamenti.* Talem ego quoque putem dari poſſe, imo, (etſi fortaſſe diſperſam) jam haberi; ſi inferiore quodam intelligibilitatis gradu ſimus contenti. Sed cum id opus non prodierit, non eſt cur rei immorer hoc loco. Itaq; & ipſe finio, tantumq; addo: Philoſophos noſtri temporis inſignes multa in natura agnoſcere ſupra noſtræ rationis vires.

QUIDAM Carteſiani eximii unionem animæ & corporis pro miraculoſa habent; alii compoſitionem continui, aut conciliationem liberi arbitrii cum divina præordinatione negant comprehendi poſſe.

LOCKIUS, magni nominis Philoſophus Anglus, cujus ſententias Autor noſter paſſim probat, cum olim docuiſſet omnia corporum phænomena poſſe explicari ex ſoliditate & extenſione & harum modis; nunc in Reſponſione quadam ad celeberrimum Stillingfleetium, Epiſcopum nuper Wigornienſem doctiſſimum, retractat ſententiam magna cum laude ingenuitatis, & profundiſſimi Newtoni perſuaſus argumentis Attractionem cujuſvis materiæ partis admittit originariam & a mechaniſmo non derivatam, nec proinde ratione explicabilem.

EGO etſi ſperem quædam ex dictis explicationem aliquam admittere, cujus & ſpecimen dedi circa unionem animæ & corporis; aliter tamen agnoſco interiorum naturæ incomprehenſibilem ſublimitatem ab influxu infiniti orientem, qui fons eſt idearum clararum ſimul & tamen confuſarum (quales ſenſibilium quarundam qualitatum habemus) quibus nulla creatura penitus exui poteſt, & quas in controverſia inter eximios viros Stillingfleetium & Lockium non ſatis ab aliis diſcretas puto. Atq; hæc quidem omnia ſanè oſtendunt multo minus mirandum eſſe ſi in rebus divinis occurrunt, quæ rationis vires longe tranſcendunt. Quòd ſi ergo ſunt quædam difficilia & impedita apud Theologos, non ideò aut ipſis inſultandum, aut Theologica Syſtemata (id eſt ordinatam doctrinæ expoſitionem) rejicienda cenſeo, non magis quàm philoſophica aut medica; ſed tantùm cavendum (ut in medicina) ne nimium diſputando praxin & ſalutem negligamus.

FINIS.

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